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The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works

CAPT. JOHN SMITH

of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire; President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England

Works

1608-1631

PART II

FROM PAGE 383 TO THE END

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER

F.S.A. ETC. LATE EXAMINER IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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[In addition to the sayings and doings of the five Gentlemen and one Soldier specified on *p.* 86 ; there are to be found in this revised text, the testimonies of the following eight Gentlemen :

Gentlemen.

Original Planters, 1607.

President John Smith, *pp.* 93, 389, 403, 442.
The Hon. George Percy, *pp.* 93, 389, 488.
Robert Fenton, *pp.* 389, 403.
Edward Harrington, *pp.* 390, 403.
William Tankard, *pp.* 94, 390, 480.

First Supply, 1608.

Jeffrey Abbot, *pp.* 108, 465, 508.
Anthony Bagnall, Surgeon, *pp.* 421, 433.
Thomas Mumford, *pp.* 109, 420.

The contributions of these eight Gentlemen are fully sufficient to account for the additional facts to be found in *Lib.* 3.]



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VIRGINIA

Massaw- Massawomeck omecks

Signification of these markes,
To the crosses hath bin discouerd
what beyond is by relation ✠
Kings howses 2
Ordinary howses 2



POWHATAN
Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith
was deliuered to him prisoner
1607



The Sasquesahanoughs
are a Gyant like people
thus attyred

MONACANS
MANNAHOACKS
POWHATAN
ONAWONS
CHESAPEAKE
KUSKARAWAOKS
WOCOKONS
SASSAFRAS
ATQUANACHUKE
HUKES
THE VIRGINIAN SEA
SASQUESAHANOUGHS
Peack Bay
Point comfort
Cape Henry
Cape Charles
Jamestowne
Powhatan
Kecoughtan
Paspahegh
Arrohateck
Appocant
Quiyoughcohanock
Matchutt
Orapaks
Passaunkack
Mattapanient
Pamunkey
Youghtanund flu.
Pamacocack
Tauxenent
Blands
Downes dale
Tassantassus
Wasp
Ozinies
Point Pessage
Gunters Harbour
Peregrins mount
Chickahokin
Maocks
Tockwogh flu:
Susquesahanough
Attaock
Quadroque
Tshingh
Atquanachuke
Scale of Lea Leagues and halfe
Leagues
Discouered and Described by Captayn John Smith
Graven by William Hole 1606
Page 41
Smith





The third Booke.

THE PROCEEDINGS AND ACCIDENTS OF The English *Colony* in *Virginia*,

1606.

Extracted from the Authors following, by WILLIAM SIMONS, Doctour of Divinitie.

CHAPTER I.

[1606] Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer. [*p.* 89.]

IT might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement [*in* 1612]; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried: where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

The first mover of the action.

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Captaine *Iohn Smith*, Master *Edward-maria Wingfield*, Master *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, who depended a yeare vpon his proiects, but [*p.* 90.]

[1606-7] nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patents [10 *April* 1606], gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in *Virginia*.

Orders for government.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of *England*; all which time, Master *Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) [42] had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

[*pp.* 90, 93, 99, 103, 389, 402, 407.]

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selues amongst these west-India Isles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time; where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn [*Iguana*], Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

Monica an vnfrequented Isle full of Birds.

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land; so that Captaine *Rat[c]liffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations; for never any of them had seene that coast. [1607] [*p.* 91.]

The first land they made they called *Cape Henry*; where thirtie of them recreating themselues on shore, were assaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. Their first landing. [*pp.* 5, 91, 896.]

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *Iohn Rat[c]liffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the President had two voyces.

Vntill the 13 of May [1607] they sought a place to plant in; then the Councell was sworne, Master *Wingfield* was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest. Matters of government.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Presidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*.

Newport, *Smith*, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called *Powhatan*, consisting of some twelue houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Iles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*. To this place the river is navigable: [*p.* 6.] The discovery of the *Falles* and *Powhatan*. [*p.* 92.]

[1607] but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles. The people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of *Iames* towne, they gaue iust cause of iealousie: but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke downe a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

The Fort assaulted by the Salvages. [*p.* 7.]

[*p.* 8.] Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped.

What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I referre to the Readers consideration.

Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for [**43**] our transportation) was to returne with the ships.

Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vsurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it; for this he was committed as a prisoner.

Thirteene weekes [24 *Mar.*—10 *June* 1607, [*pp.* lvii, liv] he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his designes [to] make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow

[*p.* 93.]

his reputation. But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppresse their envies; yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders; that the President [*Wingfield*] was adiudged to giue him 200*l.*; so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which *Smith* presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the *Colony*. [1607]

Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Master *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councel [20 *June, or rather on* 10 *June, see p.* liv] [*pp.* 90, 93, 99, 103, 386, 402, 407.]

The next day all receiued the Communion, the day following [*June* 22] the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 [*or rather* 22.; *pp.* lv, lxx] of Iune 1607. By this obserue; Captain *Newports* returne for *England*.

Good men did ne'r their Countries ruine bring.
But when evill men shall iniuries beginne;
Not caring to corrupt and violate
The iudgements-seats for their owne Lucr[e]'s sake:
Then looke that Country cannot long haue peace,
Though for the present it haue rest and ease.

The names of them that were the first Planters, were these following.

1607. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Councel.

- Master *Edward Maria Wingfield.*
- Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll.*
- Captaine *Iohn Smith.*
- Captaine *Iohn Rat[c]liffe.*
- Captaine *Iohn Martin.*
- Captaine *George Kendall.*

Gent.

- Master *Robert Hunt* Preacher.
- Master *George Percie.*
- *Anthony Gosnoll.*
- *George Flower.*
- Cap. *Gabriell Archer.*
- *Robert Fenton.*
- *Robert Ford.*

[1607]

William Bruster.
Edward Harrington.
Dru Pickhouse.
Thomas Iacob.
Iohn Brookes.
Ellis Kingston.
Thomas Sands.
Beniamin Beast.
Iehu Robinson.
Thomas Mouton.
Eustace Clovill.
Stephen Halthrop.
Kellam Throgmorton.
Edward Morish.
Nathaniell Powell.
Edward Browne.
Robert Behethland.
Iohn Penington.
Ieremy Alicock.
George Walker.
Thomas Studley.
Richard Crofts.
Nicholas Houlgraue.
Thomas Webbe. [44]
Iohn Waller.
Iohn Short.
William Tankard.
William Smethes.
Francis Snarsbrough.
Richard Simons.
Edward Brookes.
Richard Dixon.
Iohn Martin.
Roger Cooke.
Anthony Gosnold.
Tho: Wotton, Chirurg.
Iohn Stevenson.
Thomas Gore.
Henry Adling.
Francis Midwinter.
Richard Frith.

Gent.

(Compare this List with the 1612 one at pp. 93, 94.)

William Laxon.
Edward Pising.
Thomas Emry.
Robert Small.

Carpenters.

Iohn Laydon.
William Cassen.
George Cassen.
Thomas Cassen.
William Rodes.
William White.
Old Edward.
Henry Tavin.
George Goulding.
Iohn Dods.
William Iohnson.
William Vnger.

Labourers.

Iam: Read, Blacksmith
Ionas Profit, Sailer.
Tho: Cowper, Barber.
Will: Garret, Bricklayer.
Edward Brinto, Mason.
William Loue, Taylor.
Nic: Scot, Drum.
Wil: Wilkinson, Chirurg.

Samuell Collier, boy.
Nat. Pecock, boy.
Iames Brumfield, boy.
Richard Mutton, boy.

With divers others to the number of 100.

CHAPTER II.

What happened till the first supply.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst vs could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed vs. And thereat none need marvaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this. [1607]

The occasion of sicknesse.

Whilest the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue, or exchange with vs, for money, Saxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might haue beene canonized for Saints; But our President [*Wingfield*] would never haue beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private [*i.e., his own use*], Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, *Aquavitæ*, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes [*Dec.* 1606—*June* 1607] in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truely call it rather so much bran then corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre. [*p.* 95.]

The Sailers abuses.

[*p.* 957.]

With this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue Countrey, or any other place in the world.

From May, to September [1607], those that escaped, liued vpon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknes) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him [10 *Sept.* 1607]; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Gosnoll* being dead [22 *Aug.* 1607]) [*p.* 8.]

A bad President.

[1607] *Kendall* deposed [? *Sept.* 1607]. *Smith* newly recovered, *Martin* and *Ratcliffe* was by his care preserved and relieued, and the most of the souldiers recovered with the skilfull diligence of Master *Thomas Wotton* our Chirurgian generall.

But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God the patron of all good indevours, in that desperate extremitie so changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

Plentie vnexpected.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first, the fault of our going was our owne, [**45**] what could be thought fitting or necessary we had; but what we should find, or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we were at Sea fiue moneths, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time and season to plant, by the vnskilfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that vnderstood not at all, what they vndertooke.

[*p.* 96.]

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties: but nothing so difficult as to establish a Common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither doe well themselues, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

[*p.* 9.] The new President [*Ratcliffe*], and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine *Smith*: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe.

The building of *Iames Towne.*

This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease [he] (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe [9 *Nov.* 1607] in the Shallop to search the Country for

trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power (knowing the multitude of the Salvages), apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments; yet no discouragement. [1607]

Being but six or seauen in company he went downe the river to *Kecoughtan*: where at first they scorned him, as a famished man; and would in derison offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his Commission: [he] Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore; whereat they all fled into the woods. [A. 9.] The beginning of Trade abroad.

So marching towards their houses, they might see great heapes of corne: much adoe he had to restraine his hungry souldiers from [the] present taking of it, expecting as it hapned that the Salvages would assault them, as not long after they did with a most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an Idoll made of skinnes, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner, being well armed with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly receiued them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their *Quiyoughkasoucks* to offer peace, and redeeme their *Okee*.

Smith told them, if onely six of them would come vnarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their *Okee*, and giue them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread, and what they had; singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed.

In his returne he discovered the Towne and Country of *Warraskoyack*. [A. 10.]

[1607]

Thus God vnboundlesse by his power,
Made them thus kind, would vs deuour.

[A. 97.] *Smith* perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth: (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. iournies and discovered the people of *Chickahamania*: yet what he carefully provided the rest carelesly spent.

Amoris, a Salvage his best friend slaine for loving vs.

The Discovery of *Chickahamine.*

Wingfield and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, the companies dislike of their [**46**] Presidents weaknes, and their small loue to *Martins* never mending sicknes, strengthened themselues with the sailers and other confederates, to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes abord the Pinnace, (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for *England.*

Smith vnexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the riuer: which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall* [*after trial, see pp.* 13, 97].

These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders.

[A. 10.] The President [*Ratcliffe*] and captaine *Archer* not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country, which proiect also was curbed, and suppressed by *Smith.*

Another proiect to abandon the country.

The *Spaniard* never more greedily desired gold then he [*Smith*] victuall; nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding [*he found*] plentie of Corne in the riuer of *Chickahamania*, where hundreds of Salvages in diuers places stood with baskets expecting his comming.

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for *England.*

But our *Comædies* never endured long without a *Tragedie*; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discovering the head of *Chickahamania* river, and [being] taxed by the Councell, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees insunder he made his passage; but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went vp higher in a Canowe; but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew, and much failed not to haue cut of[f] the boat and all the rest. [1607] [*A.* 93.]

Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his *two men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall: who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and vsed him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner.

* *Iehu Robinson* and *Thomas Emry* slaine.

When this newes came to *Iames* towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued.

Sixe or seuen weekes [*rather about the three weeks* 16 *Dec.* 1607—8 *Jan.* 1608] those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more then their owne *Quiyouckosucks*.

The manner how they vsed and deliuered him, is as followeth.

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Cassen* whether Captaine *Smith* was gone, prosecuting that oportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamavnkee*, who in diuisions searching the turn-

Captaine *Smith* taken prisoner

[1607] [*pp.* 15, 16, 395, 401.] ings of the riuer, found *Robinson* and *Emry* by the fire side: those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that vsed the Salvage that was his guide as his shield (three of them being slaine and diuers other so gauld) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to haue returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, [he] slipped vp to the middle in an oasie creeke and his Salvage with him; yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed [47] limbs.

[*p.* 15.] He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him *Opechankanough*, King of *Pamavnkee*, to whom he gaue a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Iewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes*, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration.

Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him: but the King holding vp the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to *Orapaks*, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well vsed.

The order they observed in their trivmph. Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselues all in fyle, the King in the middest had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine *Smith* was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne [*Orapaks*] (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remoue as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him,

the souldiers first all in fyle performed the forme of a *Bissone* so well as could be; and on each flanke, officers as Serieants to see them keepe their orders. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselues in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or some such matter for his vambrace; their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and *Pocones* mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handsome shew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dryed, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snak[e]s tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while *Smith* and the King stood in the middest guarded, as before is said: and after three dances they all departed. *Smith* they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him; and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would haue served twentie men. I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more; and then did they eate all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one *Maocassater* brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes *Smith* had given him at his first arrivall in *Virginia*. [1607]

Two dayes after a man would haue slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. *Smith* told them that at *Iames* towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that: but made all the preparations they could to assault *Iames* towne, crauing his advice; and for recompence he should haue life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should [*p.* 17.]

How he should haue beene slaine at *Orapacks*.

[*p.* 17.]

[1607] follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request they went to *Iames* towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer.

How he saued *Iames* towne from being surprised.

But when they came to *Iame*[*s*] towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had [**48**] told them they should receiue an answer, and such things as he had promised them: which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake.

Then they led him to the *Youthtanunds*, the *Mattapanients*, [*pp.* 17, 18.] the *Payankatanks*, the *Nantaughtacunds*, and *Onawmanients* vpon the rivers of *Rapahanock*, and *Patawomek*; over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations,

How they did Coniure him at *Pamavnkee.*

to the Kings habitation at *Pamavnkee*: where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Coniurations;

As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell.

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other; on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce, and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's, along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then

came in three more as vgly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe fiue wheat cornes: then strayning his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gaue a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke; and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they vsed this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher; and they in the middest. [1607–8]

After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede.

Opitchapam the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put vp all the remainder in Baskets.

At his returne to *Opechancanoughs*, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts; as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments.

But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes,
Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.

At last they brought him to *Meronocomoco* [5 *Jan.* 1608], [*p.* 18] where was *Powhatan* their Emperor. Here more than two

[1608] hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till *Powhatan* and his trayne had put themselues in their greatest braveries. Before a fire vpon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of *Rarowcun* skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes [**49**] of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks.

How *Powhatan* entertained him.

[*p.* 19.]

At his entrance before the King, all the people gaue a great shout. The Queene of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could preuaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselues. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

[*pp.* xlix, lxv, 25.]

How *Pocahontas* saued his life.

They say he bore a pleasant shew,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That liues in feare and dread:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.

Two dayes after [7 *Jan.* 1608], *Powhatan* having disguised himselfe in the most fearefullest manner he could, caused Captain *Smith* to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there vpon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then *Powhatan*

more like a devill then a man, with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came vnto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to *Iames* towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would giue him the Country of *Capahowosick*, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne *Nantaquoud*. [1608]

How *Powhatan* sent him to *Iames* Towne. [*p.* 20.]

So to *Iames* towne with 12 guides *Powhatan* sent him. That night [7 *Ian.* 1608] they quarterd in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne *Barbarians* with compassion. The next morning [8 *Ian.*] betimes they came to the Fort, where *Smith* having vsed the Salvages with what kindnesse he could, he shewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatans* trusty servant, two demi-Culverings and a millstone to carry *Powhatan*: they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gaue them such toyes; and sent to *Powhatan*, his women, and children such presents, as gaue them in generall full content. [*p.* 22.]

Now in *Iames* Towne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, *Smith* forced now the third time to stay or sinke.

The third proiect to abandon the Countrey. [*p.* 98.]

Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President [*Ratcliffe*], the next day [9 *Ian.*] to haue put him to death by the Leviticali law, for the liues of *Robinson* and *Emry*; pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for *England*. [*p.* lxxxvi.] [*pp.* 15, 16, 395, 396.]

Now ever once in foure or fiue dayes, *Pocahontas* with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their liues, that els for all this had starved with hunger.

Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe,
The sweete asswager of all other griefe. [50]

[1608] A true proofe of Gods loue to the action.

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at *Werawocomoco*, and of the state and bountie of *Powhatan*, (which till that time was vnknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the loue of *Pocahontas*) as all mens feare was abandoned.

[*p.* 99.]

Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good indevour; and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it.

As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choise, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition.

And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to haue any mention made of those inormities, let him pervse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissensions haue accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences; doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserue a more worthy respect.

[The Colony is reduced to 38 men, by the time of Capt. *Newport's* arrival on 8 Jan. 1608; *see pp.* 531, 611, 911.]

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith*, to haue concluded with any of those severall proiects, to haue abandoned the Countrey, with some ten or twelue of them, who were called the better sort, and haue left Master *Hunt* our Preacher, Master *Anthony Gosnoll*, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentleman, Master *Thomas Wotton*, and some 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe possession of this large Country;) or starue himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserue the action, and saue all their liues; I leaue to the censure of all honest men to consider. But

Of two evils the lesse was chosen.

We men imagine in our Iolitie,
That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be.
But then anone wee alter this againe,

If happily wee feele the sence of paine; [1608]
For then we're turn'd into a mourning vaine.

Written by *Thomas Studley* the first Cape Merchant in *Virginia*, *Robert Fenton*, *Edward Harrington*, and *I. S.*

CHAPTER III. [*p.* 100.]

The Arrivall of the first supply, with their Proceedings, and the Ships returne.

ALL this time our care was not so much to abandon the Countrey; but the Treasurer and Councell in *England*, were as diligent and carefull to supply vs. Two good ships they sent vs, with neare a hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and vs; The one commanded by Captaine *Newport*: the other by Captaine *Francis Nelson*, an honest man, and an expert Marriner. But such was the lewardnesse of his Ship [*the Phœnix*] (that though he was within the sight of *Cape Henry*) by stormy contrary winds was he forced so farre to Sea, that the West *Indies* was the next land, for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water.

The *Phœnix* from Cape *Henry* forced to the West *Indies*.

But *Newport* got in and arrived at *Iames* Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith* [*or rather in the evening of the 8th Jan.* 1608, *on which Smith returned*]. To whom the Salvages, as is sayd, every other day repaired, with such provisions that sufficiently did serue them from hand to mouth: part alwayes they brought him as Presents from their Kings, or *Pocahontas*; the rest he as their Market Clarke set the price himselfe, how they should sell: so he [**51**] had inchanted these poore soules being their prisoner; and now *Newport*, whom he called his Father arriving, neare as directly as he foretold, they esteemed him as an Oracle, and [he] had them at that submission he might command them what he listed. That God that created all things they knew he adored for his God: they would also in their discourses tearme the God of Captaine *Smith*.

[*p.* 23.]

[*p.* 101.]

Their opinion of our God.

[1608] *Thus the Almightie was the bringer on,*
The guide, path, terme, all which was God alone.

But the President [*Ratcliffe*] and Councell so much envied his estimation among the Salvages, (though we all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof,) that they wrought it into the Salvages vnderstandings (by their great bounty in giving foure times more for their commodities then *Smith* appointed) that their greatnesse and authoritie as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie.

Now the arrivall of this first supply so overioyed vs, that wee could not devise too much to please the Marriners. We gaue them libertie to trucke or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was sould vs for an ounce: thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of the greatnesse of Captaine *Newport,* (wherewith *Smith* had possessed *Powhatan*) especially by the great presents *Newport* often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinnace to goe and visit him: [*p.* 23.] so that this great Savage desired also to see him. A great coyle there was to set him forward [*Feb.* 1608].

When he went he was accompanied with Captaine *Smith,* and Master *Scrivener,* a very wise understanding Gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the Councell, with thirtie or fortie chosen men for their guard.

[*p.* 24.] Arriving at *Werowocomoco, Newports* conceit of this great Savage bred many doubts and suspitions of trecheries, which *Smith* to make appeare was needlesse, with twentie men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter the worst that could happen: Knowing

Smiths revisiting *Powhatan.*

All is but one, and selfe-same hand, that thus
Both one while scourgeth, and that helped vs.

Nathaniell Powell. *Robert Behethland.* *Mich[a]ellPhittiplace.* *William Phittiplace.* *Anthony Gosnoll.* *Richard Wyffin.*	Gent.	*Iohn Taverner.* *William Dyer.* *Thomas Coe.* *Thomas Hope.* *Anas Todkill.*	Gent.

These, with nine others (whose names I haue forgotten) comming a-shore, landed amongst a many of creekes, over which they were to passe [by] such poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches thrust in the o[o]se, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tyed together onely with barkes of trees, that it made them much suspect those bridges were but traps. Which caused *Smith* to make diverse Salvages goe over first, keeping some of the chiefe as hostage till halfe his men were passed, to make a guard for himselfe and the rest. [1608] [*f.* 102.] *Powhatan* his entertainment.

But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne. Where *Powhatan* strained himselfe to the vtmost of his greatnesse to entertaine them, with great shouts of ioy, Orations of protestations; and with the most plenty of victualls he could provide to feast them.

Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbrodered (after their rude manner with pearle and white Beads) his attyre a faire robe of skinnes as large as an Irish mantell: at his head and [at his] feete a handsome young woman: on each side his house sat twentie of his Concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about each of their neckes. Before those sat his chiefest men in like order in his arbour-like house, and more then fortie platters of fine bread stood as a guard in two fyles on each side the doore. Foure or fiue hundred people made a guard behinde them for our passage: and Proclamation was made, none vpon paine of death to presume to doe vs any wrong or discourtesie.

With many pretty Discourses to renew [52] their old acquaintance, this great King and our Captaine spent the time, till the ebbe left our Barge aground. Then rènewing their feasts with feates, dauncing and singing, and such like mirth, we quartered that night with *Powhatan*. [*f.* 25.]

The next day *Newport* came a shore and receiued as much content as those people could giue him: a boy named *Thomas Salvage* was then giuen vnto *Powhatan*, whom *Newport* called his sonne; for whom *Powhatan* gaue him *Namontack* his trustie servant, and one of a shrewd, subtill capacitie. [*f.* 27.] The exchange of a Christian for a Salvage. [*f.* 569.]

[1608] Three or foure dayes more we spent in feasting, dauncing, and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts, considering his education.

[*p.* 27.] As scorning to trade as his subiects did; he bespake *Newport* in this manner.

Powhatans speech. *Captaine* Newport *it is not agreeable to my greatnesse, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompence giue you what I thinke fitting their value.*

Captaine *Smith* being our interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his father, knowing best the disposition of *Powhatan*, tould vs his intent was but onely to cheate vs; yet Captaine *Newport* thinking to out braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatnesse, and so to bewitch him with him bountie, as to [*p.* 103.] haue what he listed, it so hapned, that *Powhatan* hauing his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, that I thinke it [were] better cheape in *Spaine*: for we had not foure bushells for that we expected to haue twentie hogsheads.

Differences of opinions. This bred some vnkindnesse betweene our two Captaines; *Newport* seeking to please the vnsatiable desire of the Salvage, *Smith* to cause the Salvage to please him; but smothering his distast to avoyd the Saluages suspition, [*Smith*] glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many trifles, who fixed his humor vpon a few blew beades. A long time he importunately desired them, but *Smith* seemed so much the more to affect them, as being composed of a most rare substance of the coulour of the skyes, and not to be worne but by the greatest kings in the world. This made him halfe madde to be the owner of such strange Iewells: so that ere we departed, for [*p.* 28.] a pound or two of blew beades, he brought ouer my king for 2. or 300. Bushells of corne; yet parted good friends.

The like entertainment we found of *Opechankanough* king of *Pamavnkee*, whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads: which grew by this meanes, of that estimation, that none durst weare any of them but their great kings, their wiues and children.

Iames towne burnt. And so we returned all well to *Iames* towne [9 *Mar.* 1608], [*p.* 31.] where this new supply being lodged with the rest, [had]

accidently fired [*about* 17 *Jan.* 1608] their quarters, and so the towne: which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallisado's, (though eight or ten yards distant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much priuate prouision. Good Master *Hunt* our Preacher lost all his Library, and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none neuer heard him repine at his losse. This happned in the winter in that extreame frost. 1607[–8]. [1608]

[*p.* lxxxvi.

[*pp.* 90, 93, 99, 103, 386, 402.]

Now though we had victuall sufficient I meane onely of Oatmeale, meale and corne: yet the Ship staying 14. weekes [*or actually* 13 *weeks and* 2 *days from* 8 *Jan. to* 10 *April* 1608] when shee might as wel haue beene gone in 14. dayes, spent a great part of that, and neare all the rest that was sent to be landed. A ship Idely loytering 14. weekes.

When they departed what the[i]re discretion could spare vs, to make a little poore meale or two, we called feastes, to relish our mouthes: of each somwhat they left vs, yet I must confesse, those that had either money, spare clothes, credit to giue billes of paiment, gold rings, furrs, or any such commodities, were euer welcome to this remouing tauerne, such was our patience to obay such vile Commanders, and buy our owne provisions at 15. times the value, suffering them feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast, least we should incurre the censure of [being] factious and seditious persons: and then leakage, ship-rats, and other casualties occasioned them losse: but the vessels and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receaue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their prouidence for preseruing that, least they should discourage any more to come to vs.

[*p.* 104.]

Now for all this plenty our ordynary was but meale and water, so that this great charge little releeued our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the [**53**] bitter cold frost and those defects, more then halfe of vs dyed.

I cannot deny but both *Smith* and *Skriuener* did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the maior part, that the[i]re hornes were to[o] short.

But the worst was our guilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold, such a bruit of gold, The effect of meere Verbalists.

[1608] that one mad fellow [*a wag*] desired to be buried in the sands least they should by the[i]re art make gold of his bones: little neede there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, the[i]re wages run on, our victualls consume 14. weekes, that the Mariners might say, they did helpe to build such a golden Church that we can say the raine washed neere to nothing in 14. dayes.

A needlesse charge. [*p.* 957.]

Were it that captaine *Smith* would not applaude all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trialls nor golden consultations, I know not; but I haue heard him oft question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he could shew him a more substantiall triall, he was not inamoured with their durty skill, breathing out these and many other passions, neuer any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary busines neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much guilded durt.

A returne to *England.* [*p.* 105.] [*p.* 31.] [*p.* lxxxvii.]

Till then we neuer accounted, Captaine *Newport* a refiner, who being ready to set saile for *England*, and we not hauing any vse of Parliaments, Plaies, Petitions, Admiralls, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Iustices of peace, sent [10 *April* 1608] Master *Wingfield* and Captaine *Archer* home with him, that had ingrossed all those titles, to seeke some better place of imployment.

Oh cursed gold, those hunger-starved movers,
To what misfortunes lead'st thou all those lovers!
For all the China *wealth, nor* Indies *can*
Suffice the minde of an av'ritious man.

CHAPTER IIII.

The Arrivall of the Phœnix; *her returne; and other Accidents.*

The rebuilding *Iames* Towne.

THe authoritie now consisting in Captaine *Martin*, and the still sickly President [*Ratcliffe*], the sale of the Stores commodities maintained his estate, as an inheritable revenew.

The spring approaching, and the Ship departing, Master

Scrivener and Captaine *Smith* devided betwixt them the rebuilding *Iames* towne; the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing our fields; planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and re-cover our Store house. [1608] [*p.* 53.]

All men thus busie at their severall labours, Master *Nelson* arrived with his lost *Phœnix*; lost (I say) for that we all deemed him lost. Landing safely all his men, (so well he had mannaged his ill hap,) causing the *Indian Isles* to feede his company, that his victuall to that we had gotten, as is said before, was neare, after our allowance, sufficient for halfe a yeare. He had not any thing but he freely imparted it, which honest dealing (being a Marriner) caused vs admire him: we would not haue wished more then he did for vs. [*p.* 34.]

Now to relade this ship with some good tydings, the President (not holding it stood with the dignitie of his place to leaue the Fort) gaue order to Captaine *Smith* to discover and search the commodities of the *Monacans* Countrey beyond the Falls. Sixtie able men was allotted them, the which within six dayes, *Smith* had so well trained to their armes and orders, that they little feared with whom they should incounter: yet so vnseasonable was the time, and so opposit was Captaine *Martin* to any thing, but onely to fraught this ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine *Smith* rather desired to relade her with Cedar, (which was a present dispatch) then either with durt, or the hopes and reports of an vncertaine discovery, which he would performe when they had lesse charge and more leisure. [**54**]

Sixtie appointed to discover the *Monacans*. [*p.* 106.]

But, *The God of Heav'n, He eas'ly can*
Immortalize a mortall man,
With glory and with fame.
The same God, ev'n as eas'ly may
Afflict a mortall man, I say,
With sorrow and with shame.

Whilst the conclusion was a resolving, this hapned.

Powhatan (to expresse his loue to *Newport*) when he departed, presented him with twentie Turkies, conditionally to returne him twentie swords, which immediately was sent him. An ill example to sell swords to Salvages. [*p.* 31.]

Now after his departure, he presented Captaine *Smith*

[1608] with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not sending such weapons as he desired, he caused his people with twentie devices to obtaine them. At last by ambuscadoes at our very Ports [*gates*] they would take them perforce, surprise vs at worke, or any way; which was so long permitted, they become so insolent there was no rule: the command from *England* was so strait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing than peace-breakers.

The Presidents weaknesse.

[*pp.* 35-39.] This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue them such an incounter, as some he so hunted vp and downe the Isle, some he so terrified with whipping, beating, and imprisonment; as for revenge they surprised two of our forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force *Smith* to redeliver seven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained prisoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he sallied out amongst them, and in lesse then an houre, he so hampred their insolencies, [that] they brought them his two men, desiring peace without any further composition for their prisoners. Those he examined, and caused them all beleeue, by severall vollies of shot one of their companions was shot to death, because they would not confesse their intents and plotters of those villanies.

Smiths attempt to suppresse the Salvages insolencies.

And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by *Powhatan* to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats; with the manner where, how, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant: yet he sent his messengers, and his dearest daughter *Pocahontas* [*in May* 1608] with presents to excuse him of the iniuries done by some rash vntoward Captaines his subiects, desiring their liberties for this time, with the assurance of his loue for ever.

Powhatans excuse.

[*pp.* 38, 107.]

After *Smith* had given the prisoners what correction he thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, and then delivered them *Pocahontas*; for whose sake onely he fayned to haue saued their liues, and gaue them libertie.

[*p.* 39.]

The patient Councell that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with

Captaine *Smith* for his crueltie, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge: but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them; where before, wee had sometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very seldome a weeke but we had some trecherous villany or other. [1608]

The fraught of this Ship being concluded to be Cedar; by the diligence of the Master, and Captaine *Smith*, she was quickly reladed: Master *Scrivener* was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Fort; the Ship being ready to set sayle, Captaine *Martin* being alwayes very sickly, and vnserviceable, and desirous to inioy the credit of his supposed Art of finding the golden Mine, was most willingly admitted to returne for *England*. For A ship fraught with Cedar.

He hath not fill'd his lapp,
That still doth hold it oap.

From the writings of *Thomas Studley* and *Anas Todkill*. [55]

[As regards *Studley*, this must be an error, for he died on 28 Aug. 1607, *p.* lxxii., and was succeeded for some time, as Cap-Merchant or Storekeeper, by Captain *J. Smith*, *p.* 9.]

Their Names that were landed in this Supply.

1608.

Mathew Scrivener appointed to be one of the Councell.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Michaell Phittiplace.
William Phittiplace.
Ralph Morton.
Richard Wyffing.
Iohn Taverner.
William Cantrell.
Robert Barnes.
Richard Fetherstone.
George Hill.
George Pretty.
Nathaniell Causy.
Peter Pory.
Robert Cutler.
Michaell Sicklemore.
William Bentley.
Thomas Coe.
Doctor *Russell.*
Ieffrey Abbot.
Edward Gurgana.
Richard Worley.
Timothy Leeds.
Richard Killingbeck.
William Spence.
Richard Prodger.
Richard Pots.
Richard Mullinax.
William Bayley.
Francis Perkins.
Iohn Harper.
George Forest.
Iohn Nichols.
William Griuell.

Gent. Gent.

[Compare this List with the 1612 one, at *pp.* 107-8.]

[1608]

Labourers.

Raymond Goodison.
William Simons.
Iohn Spearman.
Richard Bristow.
William Perce.
Iames Watkins.
Iohn Bouth.
Christopher Rods.
Richard Burket.
Iames Burre.
Nicholas Ven.
Francis Perkins.
Richard Gradon.
Rawland Nelstrop.
Richard Savage.
Thomas Savage.
Richard Milmer.
William May.
Vere.
Michaell.
Bishop Wiles.

Taylers.

Thomas Hope.
William Ward.
Iohn Powell.
William Yong.
William Beckwith.
La[w]rence Towtales.

Apothecaries.

Thomas Field.
Iohn Harford.

Dani: Stallings, Ieweller.
Will: Dawson, a refiner.
Abram Ransack, a refiner.
Wil: Iohnson, a Goldsmith.
Peter Keffer, a gunsmith.
Rob: Alberton, a perfumer.
Richard Belfield, a Goldsmith.
Post Ginnat, a Chirurg[ion].
Iohn Lewes, a Cooper.
Robert Cotton, a Tobacco-pipe-maker.
Richard Dole, a Blacksmith.

And divers others to the number of 120.

[p 109.]

CHAPTER V

The Accidents that hapned in the Discovery of the Bay of Chisapeack.

THe prodigalitie of the Presidents [*Ratcliffe*] state went so deepe into our small store, that *Smith* and *Scrivener* tyed him and his Parasites to the rules of proportion. But now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authoritie so overswayed the discretion of Master *Scrivener*, that our store, our time, our strength and labours were idely consumed to fulfill his phantasies.

The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the Fort to performe his Discovery with this Company.

[1608]

Walter Russell, Doctor of Physicke.		*Ionas Profit.*	
Ralfe Murton.	Gent.	*Anas Todkill.*	Souldiers.
Thomas Momford.		*Robert Small.*	
William Cantrill.		*Iames Watkins.*	
Richard Fetherston.		*Iohn Powell.*	
Iames Burne.		*Iames Read.*	
Mich[a]ell Sicklemore.		*Richard Keale.*	

These being in an open Barge neare three tuns burthen.

Leaving the *Phœnix* at Cape *Henry*, they crossed the Bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Isles called *Smiths Isles*, after our Captaines name.

The first people we saw were two grim and stout Salvages vpon Cape *Charles*, with long poles like Iauelings, headed with bone, [**56**] they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances they seemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Accomack*, the habitation of their *Werowance*, where we were kindly intreated.

This King was the comliest, proper, civill Salvage we incountred. His Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle, some small creekes; good Harbours for small Barks, but not for Ships. He told vs of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was, two children being dead; some extreame passions, or dreaming visions, phantasies, or affection moued their parents againe to revisit their dead carkases, whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This as a miracle drew many to behold them, all which, being a great part of his people, not long after dyed, and but few escaped. [*p.* 110.]

A strange mortalitie of Salvages

They spake the language of *Powhatan*, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Isles, and rivers, that often did vs exceeding pleasure.

Passing along the coast, searching every inlet, and Bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many Isles in the midst of the Bay we bore vp for them, but ere we could obtaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, rayne, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water. The highest land on the mayne, yet it was but low, we called *Keales* hill, and these vninhabited Isles, *Russels* Isles.

Russels Isles.

[1608] The next day searching them for fresh water, we could find none, the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought vs to the river of *Wighcocomoco.*

Wighcocomoco.

The people at first with great fury seemed to assault vs, yet at last with songs and daunces and much mirth became very tractable: but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes, and that such puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water. We digged and searched in many places, but before two daies were expired, we would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco.*

An extreame want of fresh water.

Being past these Isles which are many in number, but all naught for habitation, falling with a high land vpon the mayne, we found a great Pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot wee supposed it some bath; that place we called poynt *Ployer,* in honor of that most honourable House of *Mousay* in *Britaine,* that in an extreame extremitie once relieued our Captaine.

[*p.* 825.]

From *Wighcocomoco* to this place, all the coast is low broken Isles of Morap, growne a myle or two in breadth, and ten or twelue in length, good to cut for hay in Summer, and to catch fish and foule in Winter: but the Land beyond them is all covered over with wood, as is the rest of the Country.

Being thus refreshed, in crossing ouer from the maine to other Isles we discouered, the winde and waters so much increased, with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our mast and sayle blew ouerbord and such mighty waues ouerracked vs in that small barge, that with great labour we kept her from sinking by freeing out the water.

[*p.* 111.]

Their Barge neare sunke in a gust.

Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these vninhabited Isles; which for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill wether we called *Limbo.*

Repairing our saile with our shirts, we set sayle for the maine and fell with a pretty convenient riuer on the East called *Cuskarawaok*; the people ran as amazed in troups from place to place, and diuers got into the tops of trees. They were not sparing of their arrowes, nor [of] the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an Anchor without the[i]re reatch making all the signes of friendship we could.

Cuskarawaock.

The next day they came vnarmed, with euery one a

basket, dancing in a ring, to draw vs on shore : but seeing there was nothing in them but villany, we discharged a volly of muskets charged with pistoll shot ; whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by ; where the[i]re companies lay in Ambuscado. Towards the euening we wayed, and approaching the shoare, discharging fiue or six shot among the reedes. We landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the riuer, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houses, in each a fire ; there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking glasses, and then went into the bay : but when it was darke we came backe againe. [1608]

Early in [**57**] the morning foure Salvages came to vs in their Canow, whom we vsed with such courtesie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, [they] hauing beene in the bay a fishing ; [who] bade vs stay and ere long they would returne, which they did and some twentie more with them : with whom after a little conference, two or three thousand men women and children came clustring about vs, euery one presenting vs with something, which a little bead would so well requite, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch vs water, stay with vs for hostage, conduct our men any whither, and giue vs the best content.

Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh*, *Nause*, *Arseek*, and *Nantaquak* the best Marchants of all other Salvages.

The first notice of the *Massawomeks*.

They much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes*, in search of whom we returned by *Limbo :* this riuer but onely at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of small stature as them of *Wightcocomoco*, the Land but low, yet it may proue very commodious, because it is but a ridge of land betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean. Finding this Easterne shore, [to be] shallow broken Isles, and for most part without fresh water ; we passed by the straites of *Limbo* for the Westerne shore : so broad is the bay here, we could scarce perceiue the great high clifts on the other side : by them we Anchored that night and called them *Riccards Cliftes*.

30. leagues we sayled more Northwards not finding any inhabitants, leauing all the Easterne shore, lowe Islandes, but ouergrowne with wood, as all the Coast beyond

[1608] them so farre as wee could see: the Westerne shore by which we sayled we found all along well watered, but very mountanous and barren, the vallies very fertill, but extreame thicke of small wood so well as trees, and much frequented with Wolues, Beares, Deere and other wild beasts.

Bolus Riuer. We passed many shallow creekes, but the first we found Nauigable for a ship, we called *Bolus*, for that the clay in many places vnder the clifts by the high water marke, did grow vp in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in some places so participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the coulour, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy grauell, which made vs thinke it *Bole-Armoniack* and *Terra sigillata.*

When we first set sayle some of our Gallants doubted nothing but that our Captaine would make too much hast[e] home, but hauing lien in this small barge not aboue 12. or 14. dayes, oft tyred at the Oares, our bread spoyled with wet so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could disgest it) they did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner [*about* 14 *June* 1608].

Smiths speech to his souldiers.

Gentlemen if you would remember the memorable history of Sir Ralph Layne, *how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of* Moratico, *alleadging they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feede them in their returnes; then what a shame would it be for you (that haue bin so suspitious of my tendernesse) to force me returne, with so much provision as we haue, and scarce able to say where we haue beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seeke? You cannot say but I haue shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatsoeuer, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust; abandon these childish feares, for worse then is past is not likely to happen: and there is as much danger to returne as to proceede. Regaine therefore your old spirits, for returne I will not (if God please) till I haue seene the* Massawomeks, *found* Patawomek, *or the head of this water you conceit to be endlesse.*

[*p.* 314.]

[*p.* 112.]

Two or 3. dayes we expected [*experienced*] winde and wether, whose aduerse extremities added such discouragement, that three or foure fell sicke, whose pittifull complaints caused vs to to returne, leauing the bay some nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadome water. [1608]

The 16. of *Iune* [1608], we fell with the riuer *Patowomek*: feare being gone, and our men recouered, we were all content to take some paines, to know the name of that seuen mile broad riuer. For thirtie myles sayle, we could see no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two Savages vp a little bayed creeke, towards *Onawmanient*, where all the woods were layd with ambuscado's to the number of three or foure thousand Salvages, so strangely paynted, grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying [**58**] as so many spirits from hell could not haue shewed more terrible. The discouery of *Patawomek*. Ambuscadoes of Salvages.

Many brauado's they made, but to appease their fury, our Captaine prepared with as seeming a willingnesse (as they) to incounter them. But the grazing of our bullets vpon the water (many being shot on purpose they might see them) with the Ecc[h]o of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their bowes and arrowes; (and exchanging hostage) *Iames Watkins* was sent six myles vp the woods to their Kings habitation. We were kindly vsed of those Salvages, of whom we vnderstood, they were commanded to betray vs, by the direction of *Powhatan*; and he so directed from the discontents [*discontented*] at *Iames* towne, because our Captaine did cause them stay in their country against their wills. A trecherous proiect

The like incounters we found at *Patowomek*, *Cecocawonee* and diuers other places: but at *Moyaones*, *Nacotchtant* and *Toags* the people did their best to content vs. [*p.* 113.]

Hauing gone so high as we could with the bo[a]te, we met diuers Saluages in Canowes, well loaden with the flesh of Beares, Deere and other beasts; whereof we had part. Here we found mighty Rocks, growing in some places aboue the grownd as high as the shrubby trees, and diuers other solid quarries of diuers tinctures: and diuers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tinctured spangled skurfe, that made many bare places seeme as guilded. Digging the grown[d]e aboue in the highest clifts of rocks, we saw it was a claie sand so

[1608] mingled with yeallow spangles as if it had beene halfe pindust.

In our returne inquiring still for this *Matchqueon*, the king of *Patawomeke* gaue vs guides to conduct vs vp a little riuer called *Quiyough*, vp which we rowed so high as we could [*p.* 424]. Leauing the bo[a]te; with six shot and diuers Salvages, he marched seuen or eight myle before they came to the mine: leading his hostages in a small chaine they were to haue for their paines, being proud so richly to be adorned.

A myne like *Antimony.*

The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like *Antimony*; wherein they digged a great hole with shells and hatchets: and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of *Christal*-like water, where they wash away the drosse and keepe the remainder, which they put in little baggs and sell it all ouer the country to paint the[i]re bodyes, faces, or Idols; which makes them looke like Blackmores dusted over with siluer. With so much as we could carry we returned to our bo[a]te, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people.

The cause of this discovery was to search [for] this mine, of which *Newport* did assure vs that those small baggs (we had giuen him), in *England* he had tryed to hold halfe siluer; but all we got proued of no value: also to search what furrs, the best whereof is at *Cuscarawaoke*, where is made so much *Rawranoke* or white beads that occasion as much dissention among the Salvages, as gold and siluer amongst Christians; and what other mineralls, riuers, rocks, nations, woods, fishings, fruites, victuall, and what other commodities the land afforded: and whether the bay were endlesse or how farre it extended.

Of mines we were all ignorant, but a few Beuers, Otters, Beares, Martins and minkes [skins] we found, and in diuers places that aboundance of fish, lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driuing amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with: neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for smal fish, had any of vs euer seene in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying pans. Some small codd also we did see swim close by the shore by *Smiths* Iles, and some as high as

An aboundant plenty of fish.

Riccards Clifts. And some we haue found dead vpon the shore. [1608]

To express all our quarrels, trecheries and incounters amongst those Salvages I should be too tedious: but in breefe, at all times we so incountred them, and curbed their insolencies, that they concluded with presents to purchase peace; yet we lost not a man: at our first meeting our Captaine euer observed this order, to demand their bowes and arrowes, swordes, mantells and furrs, with some childe or two for hostage, whereby we could quickly perceiue, when they intended any villany. [*p.* 113.] How to deale with the Salvages.

Hauing finished this discouery (though our victuall was neere spent) he intended to see his imprisonment-acquaintances vpon the riuer of *Rapahanock*, by [**59**] many called *Toppahanock*, but our bo[a]te by reason of the ebbe, chansing to grownd vpon a many shoules lying in the entrances, we spyed many fishes lurking in the reedes: our Captaine sporting himselfe by nayling them to the grownd with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner: thus we tooke more in one houre then we could eate in a day.

But it chansed our Captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a ryding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she strucke into the wrest of his arme neere an inch and a halfe: no bloud nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swolen his hand, arme and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded [*anticipated*] his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Island by, as himselfe directed: yet it pleased God by a precious oyle Docter *Russell* at the first applyed to it when he sounded it with probe, (ere night) his tormenting paine was so well asswaged that he eate of the fish to his supper, which gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs then ease to himselfe. For which we called the Island *Stingray* Isle after the name of the fish. [*p.* 114.] Captaine *Smith* neare killed with a *Stingray*.

Hauing neither Chirurgian nor Chirurgery but that preseruatiue oyle, we presently set sayles for *Iames* towne, passing the mouthes of the riuers of *Payankatank*, and *Pamavnkee*, the next day we safely arriued at *Kecoughtan*.

[1608] The Salvages affrighted with their owne suspition.

The simple Salvages seeing our Captaine hurt, and an other bloudy by breaking his shinne, our numbers of bowes, arrowes, swords, mantles, and furrs, would needes imagine we had beene at warres (the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them) but impatiently importuned vs to know with whom. Finding their aptnesse to beleeue, we fayled not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle we had got and made of the *Massawomeks*. This rumor went faster vp the river then our Barge, that arrived at *Waraskoyack* the 20 of Iuly; where trimming her with painted streamers, and such deuises as we could, we made them at *Iames* towne iealous of a Spanish Frigot, where we all, God be thanked, safely arrived the 21 of Iuly.

Needlesse misery at *Iames* towne.

There we found the last Supply were all sicke; the rest some lame, some bruised: all vnable to doe any thing but complaine of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse crueltie of the silly President, that had riotously consumed the store: and to fulfill his follies about building him an vnnecessary building for his pleasure in the woods, had brought them all to that misery; that had we not arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge.

[*p.* 115.] But the good newes of our Discovery, and the good hope we had by the Salvages relation, that our Bay had stretched into the South Sea, or somewhat neare it, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* should be deposed, and that Captaine *Smith* would take vpon him the government, as by course it did belong.

Their request being effected, he substituted Master *Scrivener* his deare friend in the Presidency, equally distributing those private provisions the other [*Ratcliffe*] had ingrossed, appointing more honest officers to assist master *Scrivener* (who then lay exceeding sicke of a Callenture): and in regard of the weaknesse of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease, to recover their healths; but imbarked himselfe to finish his Discovery.

Written by Walter Russell, Anas Todkill, *and* Thomas Mumford.

CHAPTER VI.

The Government surrendred to Master Scrivener.

What happened the second Voyage in discovering the Bay.

THe 24 of Iuly [1608], Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery with twelue men: their names were [60] [1608] [*p.* 116.]

Nathaniell Powell.	Gentlemen.	*Ionas Profit.*	Souldiers.
Thomas Momford.		*Anas Todkill.*	
Richard Fetherston.		*Edward Pising.*	
Mich[a]ell Sicklemore.		*Richard Keale.*	
Iames Bourne.		*Iames Watkins.*	
Anthony Bagnall, Chir.		*William Ward.*	

The wind being contrary, caused our stay two or three days at *Kecoughtan*: the King feasted vs with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged of the *Massawomeks*. In the evening we fired a few rackets, which flying in the ayre so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing vnpossible we attempted; and desired to assist vs. The Salvages admire fireworkes.

The first night we anchored at *Stingray* Isle. The next day crossed *Patawomeks* river, and hasted to the river *Bolus*.

We went not much further before we might see the Bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided in foure, all which we searched so farre as we could sayle them.

Two of them we found [vn]inhabited, but in crossing the Bay, we incountred 7 or 8 Canowes full of *Massawomeks*. [*p.* 117.]

We seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our Oares and made way with our sayle to incounter them, yet were we but fiue with our Captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death, vntill they were seasoned to the Country. Having shut them vnder our Tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the Barges side, and An Incounter with the *Massawomeks* at the head of the Bay.

[1608] betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make vs seeme many: and so we thinke the *Indians* supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sayling of our barge till we anchored right against them.

Long it was ere we could draw them to come vnto vs. At last they sent two of their company vnarmed in a Canow, the rest all followed to second them if neede required. These two being but each presented with a bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, presenting our Captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beares-skinnes.

We vndertood them nothing at all, but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs they had beene at warres with the *Tockwoghes*, the which they confirmed by shewing vs their greene wounds.

But the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete; but after that we never saw them.

An Incounter with the *Tockwhoghs.*

Entring the river of *Tockwogh*, the Salvages all armed, in a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed us; so it chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw vs furnished with the *Massawomeks* weapons, and we faining the invention of *Kecoughtan*, to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with scaffolds like mounts, brested about with brests very formally. Their men, women, and children with daunces, songs, fruits, furres, and what they had, kindly welcommed vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, [and] stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

[*p.* 118.]

Hatchets from the *Sasquesahanocks.*

Many hatchets, kniues, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanocks*, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the *Massawomeks*.

The *Sasquesahanocks* inhabit vpon the chiefe Spring of these foure branches of the Bayes head, two dayes iourney higher then our barge could passe for rocks; yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter, to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come visit vs, for their language[s] are different.

Three or foure dayes we expected their returne, then sixtie of those gyant-like people came downe, with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came boldly aboord vs to crosse the Bay for *Tockwhogh*, leaving their men and Canowes; the wind being so high they durst not passe. [1608]

Our order was daily to haue Prayer, with a Psalme; at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondred, our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in a most passionate [**61**] manner to hold vp their hands to the Sunne, with a most fearefull song, then imbracing our Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner; though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished; which done [one] with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce, began an Oration of their loues.

That ended, with a great painted Beares skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white Beads, weighing at least six or seaven pound, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together; all these with many other toyes they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Protector, promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomeks*. The *Sasquesahanocks* offer to the *English*.

But we left them at *Tockwhogh*, sorrowing for our departure; yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them.

Many descriptions and discourses they made vs, of *Atquanachuck*, *Massawomek*, and other people, signifying they inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we vnderstood to be some great lake, or the river of *Canada*: and from the French to haue their hatchets and Commodities by trade. These know no more of the territories of *Powhatan*, then his name, and he as little of them: but the *Atquanachuks* are on the Ocean Sea. [*p.* 119.]

The highest mountaine we saw Northward wee called *Perigrines* mount, and a rocky river, where the *Massawomeks* went vp, *Willowbyes* river, in honor of the towne our Captaine was borne in, and that honorable house the

[1608] Lord *Willowby*, his most honored good friend. The *Sasquesahanocks* river we called *Smiths* falles; the next poynt to *Tockwhogh*, *Pisings* poynt; the next [to] it poynt *Bourne*. *Powells* Isles and *Smals* poynt is by the river *Bolus*; and the little Bay at the head *Profits* poole; *Watkins*, *Reads*, and *Momfords* poynts are on each side *Limbo*; *Ward*, *Cantrell*, and *Sicklemore* [points], betwixt *Patawomek* and *Pamavnkee*, after the names of the discoverers.

In all those places and the furthest we came vp the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes: and in some places crosses of brasse, to signifie to any, Englishmen had beene there.

Pawtuxunt, R. [*p.* 119.] Thus having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt*; these people we found very tractable, and more civill then any: we promised them, as also the *Patawomeks* to revenge them of the *Massawomeks*, but our purposes were crossed.

Rapahanock, R. In the discovery of this river [that] some call *Rapahanock*, we were kindly entertained by the people of *Moraughtacund*.

The exceeding loue of the Salvage *Mosco*. Here we incountered our old friend *Mosco*, a lusty Salvage of *Wighcocomoco* vpon the river of *Patawomek*. We supposed him some *French* mans sonne, because he had a thicke blacke bush beard, and the Salvages seldome haue any at all; of which he was not a little proud, to see so many of his Countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch vs, guide vs any whether, nay, cause divers of his Countrymen helpe vs [to] towe against winde or tyde from place to place till we came to *Patawomek*: there he rested till we returned from the head of the river, and occasioned our conduct to the mine we supposed *Antimony* [*p.* 418].

And in the place he fayled not to doe vs all the good he could, perswading vs in any case not to goe to the *Rapahanocks*, for they would kill vs for being friends with the *Moraughtacunds* that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women.

This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely haue our trade: so we crossed the river to the *Rapahanocks*. [*pp.* 119, 419, 426.] There some 12 or 16 standing on the shore, directed vs [to] a little Creeke where was good landing, and Commodities for vs in three or foure Canowes we saw lie there: but according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man in signe of

Our fight with the *Rapahanocks*.

loue; which after they had a little consulted, foure or fiue [1608]
came vp to the middles, to fetch our man, and leaue vs one of them, shewing we need not feare them, for they had neither clubs, bowes, nor arrowes. Notwithstanding, *Anas Todkill*, being sent on shore to see if he could discover any Ambuscadoes, or what they had, desired to goe over the playne to fetch some wood; but they were vnwilling, except we would come into the Creeke, where the boat might come close ashore. *Todkill* by degrees [**62**] having got some two stones throwes vp the playne, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees; so that offering to returne to the Boat, the Salvages assayed to carry him away perforce, that he called to vs we were betrayed: and by that he had spoke the word, our hostage was over-boord, but *Watkins* his keeper slew him in the water. Immediatly we let fly amongst them, so that they fled, and *Todkill* escaped; yet they shot so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the boat.

Here the *Massawomek* Targets stood vs in good stead, for vpon *Mosco's* words, we had set them about the forepart of our Boat like a forecastle; from whence we securely beat the Salvages from off the plaine without any hurt: yet they shot more then a thousand Arrowes, and then fled into the woods. Arming our selues with these light Targets (which are made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our Cloth, but so firmely that no arrow can possibly pierce them:) we rescued *Todkill*; who was all bloudy by [*from*] some of them who were shot by vs that held him, but as God pleased he had no hurt: and following them vp to the woods, we found some slaine, and in divers places much bloud. It seems all their arrowes were spent, for we heard no more of them.

Their Canows we tooke; the arrowes we found we broke, saue them we kept for *Mosco*, to whom we gaue the Canowes for his kindnesse, that entertained vs in the best trivmphing manner, and warlike order in armes of conquest he could procure of the *Moraughtacunds*. The rest of the day we spent in accomodating our Boat, in stead of thoules wee made stickes like Bedstaues, to which we fastened so many of our *Massawomek* Targets, that invironed her as wa[i]st clothes.

[1608] The next morning we went vp the river, and our friend *Mosco* followed vs along the shore, and at last desired to goe with vs in our Boat. But as we passed by *Pisacack*, *Matchopeak*, and *Mecuppom*, three Townes situated vpon high white clay clifts; the other side all a low playne marish, and the river there but narrow. Thirtie or fortie of the *Rapahanocks* had so accommodated themselues with branches, as we tooke them for little bushes growing among the sedge, till seeing their arrowes strike the Targets, and dropped in the river: whereat *Mosco* fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the *Rapahanocks*, which presently we espied to be the bushes, which at our first volley fell downe in the sedge: when wee were neare halfe a myle from them, they shewed themselues dauncing and singing very merrily.

[*pp.* 119, 419, 424.]

The Salvages disguised like bushes fight.

The Kings of *Pissassack*, *Nandtaughtacund*, and *Cuttatawomen*, vsed vs kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to *Mosco* to bring vs to them.

Betwixt *Secobeck* and *Massawteck* is a small Isle or two, which causeth the river to be broader then ordinary; there it pleased God to take one of our Company called Master *Fetherstone*, that all the time he had beene in this Country, had behaved himselfe, honestly, valiantly, and industriously; where in a little Bay we called *Fetherstones* Bay wee buryed him with a volley of shot: the rest notwithstanding their ill dyet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers, never resting, but alwayes tossed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths.

[*p.* 119.]

The next day wee sayled so high as our Boat would float; there setting vp crosses, and graving our names in the trees. Our Sentinell saw an arrow fall by him; though we had ranged vp and downe more then an houre, in digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs, not seeing where a Salvage could well hide himselfe.

Our fight with the *Manahaacks.*

Vpon the alarum, by that we had recovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble *Indians* skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows so fast as they could: the trees here served vs for Baricadoes as well as they. But *Mosco* did vs more service then we expected; for having shot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more. The Arrowes of *Mosco* at the first made them pause vpon the matter, thinking by his bruit and

skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vanished as suddainly as they approached. *Mosco* followed them so farre as he could see vs, till they were out of sight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, shot in the knee; but taking him vp we found he had [62] life: which *Mosco* seeing, never was Dog more furious against a Beare, then *Mosco* was to haue beat out his braines. So we had him to our Boat, where our Chirurgian [*A. Bagnall*] who went with vs to cure our Captaines hurt of the *Stingray*, so dressed this Salvage that within an houre after he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and speake. In the meane time we contented *Mosco* in helping him to gather vp their arrowes, which were an armefull; whereof he gloried not a little. [1608]

A Salvage shot and taken prisoner.

Then we desired *Mosco* to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly answered, he and all with him were of *Hassininga*, where there are three Kings more, like vnto them, namely the King of *Stegora*, the King of *Tauxuntania*, and the King of *Shakahonea*, that were come to *Mohaskahod*, which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the *Mannahocks* and the *Nandtaughtacunds*, but hard by where we were.

We demanded why they came in that manner to betray vs, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loues; he answered, they heard we were a people come from vnder the world, to take their world from them.

We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was vnder the skie that covered him, which were the *Powhatans*, with the *Monacans* and the *Massawomeks* that were higher vp in the mountaines.

His relation of their countries.

Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing; *because the woods were not burnt.

* They cannot trauell but where the woods are burnt.

These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the *Massawomeks*, the *Monacans*, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of *Stegora*, *Tauxsintania*, and the rest. The *Monacans* he sayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, liuing vpon rootes and fruits, but chiefly

[1608] by hunting. The *Massawomeks* did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a severall way with their men on hunting. But those with him came thither a fishing till they saw vs, notwithstanding they would be al[l] together at night at *Mahaskahod.*

For his relation we gaue him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with vs: and he as earnestly desired vs to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good vsage should be friends with vs, for he was brother to *Hassininga.* But *Mosco* advised vs presently to be gone, for they were all naught; yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, and *Mosco* was as diligent in trimming his arrowes.

The night being come we all imbarked; for the riuer was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one side was so high, they might haue done vs exceeding much mischiefe. All this while the K[ing]. of *Hassininga* was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call vnto them, but such a yelling and hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then [we shot off] a peece, ayming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More then 12 myles they followed vs in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our selues in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen.

Being well refreshed, we vntyed our Targets that couered vs as a Deck, and all shewed our selues with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner *Amoroleck.* A long discourse there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee vsed him, how wee had a *Patawomek* with vs, [who] loued vs as his life, that would haue slaine him had we not preserued him, and that he should haue his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe vs any hurt it was impossible.

Vpon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers vpon the trees, and one came swimming aboord vs with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they deliuered our Captaine as a present: the Captaine hauing vsed them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend; whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so [64] vpon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and receiued *Amoroleck*: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to giue vs, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities. And so we left foure or fiue hundred of our merry *Mannahocks*, singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for *Moraughtacund*. [1608]

How we concluded peace with the foure kings of *Monahoke*.

In our returnes we visited all our friends, that reioyced much at our Victory against the *Mannahocks*, who many times had Warres also with them, but now they were friends; and desired we would be friends with the *Rapahanocks*, as we were with the *Mannahocks*. Our Captaine told them, they had twise assaulted him that came onely in loue to doe them good, and therefore he would now burne all their houses, destroy their corne, and for euer hold them his enemies, till they made him satisfaction. They desired to know what that should be. He told them they should present him the Kings Bow and Arrowes, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they should be friends with the *Moraughtacunds* his friends and giue him their Kings sonne in pledge to performe it; and then all King *Iames* his men should be their friends. Vpon this they presently sent to the *Rapahanocks* to meete him at the place where they first fought, where would be the Kings of *Nantautacund* and *Pissassac*: which according to their promise were there so soone as we; where *Rapahanock* presented his Bow and Arrowes, and confirmed all we desired, except his sonne, having no more but him he could not liue without him, but in stead of his sonne he would giue him the three women *Moraughtacund* had

How we became friends with the *Rapahanocks*.

[1608] stolne. This was accepted: and so in three or foure Canowes, so many as could went with vs to *Moraughtacund*, where *Mosco* made them such relations, and gaue to his friends so many Bowes and Arrowes, that they no lesse loued him then admired vs. The 3 women were brought our Captaine, to each he gaue a chayne of Beads: and then causing *Moraughtacund*, *Mosco*, and *Rapahanock* stand before him, bid *Rapahanock* take her he loued best, and *Moraughtacund* chuse next, and to *Mosco* he gaue the third. Vpon this, away went their Canowes over the water, to fetch their venison, and all the provision they could; and they that wanted Boats swam over the river. The darke [*darkness*] commanded vs then to rest.

The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we coniectured, six or seauen hundred, dauncing, and singing; and not a Bow nor Arrow seene amongst them. *Mosco* changed his name *Vttasantasough*, which we interpret *Stranger*, for so they call vs. All promising ever to be our friends, and to plant Corne purposely for vs; and we to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them, we departed: giuing them a Volley of shot, and they vs as loud shouts and cryes as their strengths could vtter.

The discovery of *Payankatank*. [*p.* 119.]

That night we anchored in the river of *Payankatank*, and discovered it so high as it was navigable; but the people were most[ly] a hunting, saue a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corne: of which they promised vs part when we would fetch it, as had done all the Nations where ever we had yet beene.

In a fayre calme, rowing towards poynt *Comfort*, we anchored in *Gosnolls* Bay, but such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night with thunder and rayne, that we never thought more to haue seene *Iames* Towne. Yet running before the wind, we sometimes saw the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely we kept from the splitting shore, vntill it pleased God in that blacke darknesse to preserue vs by that light to finde poynt *Comfort*.

There refreshing our selues, because we had onely but heard of the *Chisapeacks* and *Nandsamunds*, we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as so many Nations abroad. So setting sayle for the Southerne shore, we sayled vp a narrow river vp the

country of *Chisapeack*; it hath a good channell, but many shoules about the entrance. By that we had sayled six or seauen myles, we saw two or three little garden plots with their houses, the shores overgrowne with the greatest Pyne and Firre trees wee ever saw in the Country. But not seeing nor hearing any people, and the riuer very narrow, we returned to the great riuer, to see if we could finde any of them. Coasting [**65**] the shore towards *Nandsamund*, which is most[ly] Oyster-bankes; at the mouth of that riuer, we espied six or seauen Salvages making their wires [*weirs*], who presently fled: ashore we went, and where they wrought we threw diuers toyes, and so departed. Farre we were not gone ere they came againe, and began to sing, and daunce, and recall vs: and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last one of them desired vs to goe to his house vp that riuer; into our Boat voluntarily he came, the rest ran after vs by the shore with all shew of loue that could be. Seauen or eight myles we sayled vp this narrow riuer: at last on the Westerne shore we saw large Cornefields, in the midst a little Isle, and in it was abundance of Corne. The people he told vs were all a hunting, but in the Isle was his house, to which he inuited vs with much kindnesse: to him, his wife, and children, we gaue such things as they seemed much contented them. The others being come, desired vs also to goe but a little higher to see their houses: here our host left vs, the rest rowed by vs in a Canow, till we were so far past the Isle the riuer became very narrow. [1608]

A notable treachery of the *Nandsamunds*.

Here we desired some of them to come abord vs, wherat pausing a little, they told vs they would but fetch their bows and arrowes and goe all with vs: but being a shore and thus armed, they perswaded vs to goe forward, but we could neither perswade them into their Canow, nor into our Boat. This gaue vs cause to prouide for the worst. Farre we went not ere seauen or eight Canowes full of men armed appeared following vs, staying to see the conclusion. Presently from each side the riuer came arrowes so fast as two or three hundred could shoot them, whereat we returned to get the open. They in the Canowes let fly also as fast; but amongst them we bestowed so many shot; the most of them leaped overboord and swam ashore, but two

The fight with the *Chisapeacks* and *Nandsamunds*.

[1608] or three escaped by rowing. Being against their playnes: our Muskets they found shot further then their Bowes, for wee made not twentie shot ere they all retyred behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we seised on all their Canowes, and moored them in the midst of the open. More then an hundred arrowes stucke in our Targets, and about the boat; yet none hurt, onely *Anthony Bagnall* was shot in his Hat, and another in his sleeue. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting as it was, that both the *Nandsamunds*, and the *Chisapeacks* were together; we thought it best to ryde by their Canowes a while, to bethinke if it were better to burne all in the Isle, or draw them to composition till we were prouided to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our *Colony*: but to burne the Isle at night it was concluded.

How they became friends.

In the interim we began to cut in peeces their Canowes, and they presently to lay downe their bowes, making signes of peace. Peace we told them we would accept it, would they bring vs their Kings bowes and arrowes, with a chayne of pearle; and when we came againe giue vs foure hundred baskets full of Corne: otherwise we would breake all their boats, and burne their houses, and corne, and all they had. To performe all this they alledged onely the want of a Canow; so we put one a drift and bad them swim to fetch her: and till they performed their promise, wee would but onely breake their Canowes. They cryed to vs to doe no more, all should be as we would: which presently they performed. Away went their bowes and arrowes, and tagge and ragge came with their baskets: so much as we could carry we tooke, and so departing good friends, we returned to *Iames* Towne, where we safely arrived the 7. of September, 1608.

The proceeding at *Iames* Towne.

There we found Master *Scrivener*, and divers others well recovered: many dead; some sicke: the late President [*Ratcliffe*] [a] prisoner for mutiny: by the honest diligence of Master *Scrivener*, the haruest gathered; but the provision in the store much spoyled with rayne.

Thus was that summer (when little wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the gouernment of Captaine *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*) but onely this discovery; [*p.* 120.] wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and in-

counters this small number passed in that small Barge, by the scale of proportion, about three thousand myles, with such watery dyet in those great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious or partiall being a partie. [66] [1608]

But to this place to come who will adventure,
with iudgements guide and reason how to enter:
Finds in this worlds broad sea, with winde and tyde,
Ther's safer sayle then any where beside.
But 'cause to wanton novices it is
A Province full of fearefulnesse I wiss;
Into the great vast deepe to venter out:
Those shallow rivers let them coast about.
And by a small Boat learne there first, and marke,
How they may come to make a greater Barke.

Written by *Anthony Bagnall, Nathanaell Powell,* and *Anas Todkill.*

CHAPTER VII. [p. 121.]

The Presidency surrendred to Captaine Smith: *the Arrivall and returne of the second Supply. And what happened.*

THe tenth of September, by the Election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Captaine *Smith* receiued the Letters Patents: which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he was often importuned therevnto.

Now the building of *Rat[c]liffes* Pallace stayed, as a thing needlesse; the Church was repaired; the Store-house recouered; buildings prepared for the Supplyes we expected; the Fort reduced to a fiue-square forme; the order of the Watch renewed; the squadrons (each setting of the Watch) trained; the whole Company euery Saturday

[1608] exercised, in the plaine by the west Bulwarke, prepared for that purpose, we called *Smithfield*: where sometimes more then an hundred Salvages would stand in an amazement to behold, how a fyle would batter a tree, where he would make them a marke to shoot at; the boats trimmed for trade, which being sent out with Lieutenant *Percy*, in their Iourney incountred [? *Oct.* 1608] the second Supply, that brought them backe to discover the Country of *Monacan*.

How or why Captaine *Newport* obtained such a private Commission, as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South sea, or one of the lost company sent out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I know not; nor why he brought such a fiue peeced Barge, not to beare vs to that South sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines, which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne.

Powhatans scorne when his courtesie was most deserved. [*p.* 122.]

As for the Coronation of *Powhatan*, and his presents of Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, Clothes, and such costly nouelties, they had beene much better well spared then so ill spent, for wee had his favour much better onely for a playne peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting, made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all.

As for the hyring of the *Poles* and *Dutch* men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles, and Sope ashes, when the Country is replenished with people, and necessaries, would haue done well: but to send them and seauentie more without victualls to worke, was not so well aduised nor considered of, as it should haue beene. Yet this could not haue hurt vs had they beene 200. though then we were 130 that wanted for our selues. For we had the Salvages in that *decorum* (their harvest being newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuals for 500.

No better way to overthrow the busines then by our instructors.

Now was there no way to make vs miserable, but to neglect that time to make prouision whilst it was to be had, the which was done by the direction from *England* to performe this strange discovery, but a more strange Coronation, to loose that time, spend that victualls we had, tyre and starue our men, hauing no meanes to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or sicke, but on their owne backes. How or by whom they were inuented I know not.

But Captaine *Newport* we onely accounted the Author, who

to effect these proiects, had so guilded mens hopes with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution [67] for the most part. God doth know they little knew what they did, nor vnderstood their owne estates to conclude his conclusions, against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President [*Smith*] alledged. [1608]

Of this Supply there was added to the Councell, one Captaine *Richard Waldo*, and Captaine *Wynne*, two auncient Souldiers, and valiant Gentlemen; but yet ignorant of the busines, (being but newly arriued.) *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* was also permitted to haue his voyce, and Master *Scrivener*, desirous to see strange Countries: so that although *Smith* was President, yet the Maior part of the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed. A consultation, where all the Councell was against the President.

As for clearing *Smiths* obiections, how Pitch and Tarre, Wainscot, Clapbord, Glasse, and Sope ashes, could be provided, to relade the ship: or provision got to liue withall, when none was in the Country; and that we had, spent, before the ship departed to effect these projects. The answer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertooke to fraught the Pinnace of twentie tunnes with Corne in going and returning in his Discovery, and to refraught her againe from *Werowocomoco* of *Powhatan*. Also promising a great proportion of victualls from the Ship; inferring that *Smiths* propositions were onely devices to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie he had vsed to the Salvages might well be the occasion to hinder these Designes, and seeke revenge on him. For which taxation, all workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for *Newports* guard in this Discovery. [*p.* 123.]

But Captaine *Smith* to make cleare all those seeming suspitions, that the Salvages were not so desperate as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing (since by their authoritie they would haue it so) he was to assist them what he could, because the Coronation would consume much time, he vndertooke himselfe their message to *Powhatan*, to intreat him to come to *Iames* Towne to receiue his presents.

And where *Newport* durst not goe with lesse then 120. he onely tooke with him Captaine *Waldo*, Master *Andrew* Captaine *Smith* goeth with 4. to

[1608] *Buckler, Edward Brinton,* and *Samuel Collier*: with these foure he went over land to *Werowocomoco*, some 12 myles; there he passed the river of *Pamavnkee* in a Salvage Canow.

Powhatan, when *Newport* feared with 120.

Powhatan being 30 myles of[f], was presently sent for: in the meane time, *Pocahontas* and her women enteitained Captaine *Smith* in this manner.

In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting vpon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the [five] English betooke themselues to their armes, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently *Pocahontas* came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended; and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter.

A *Virginia* Maske.

Then presently they were presented with this anticke; thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaues, their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing, their leader [? *Pocahontas*] had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-sticke; all horned alike: the rest every one with their severall devises.

[*p.* 124.] These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselues in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly againe to sing and daunce; having spent neare an houre in this Mascarado, as they entred, in like manner they departed.

The Womens entertainement.

Having reaccommodated themselues, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, Loue you not me? loue you not me?

This saluation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the Salvage dainties they could devise: some attending, others singing and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended, with fire-brands in stead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging.

Thus did they shew their feats of armes, and others art in dauncing: [1608]
Some other vs'd there oaten pipe, and others voyces chanting. [68]

Captaine *Smiths* message.

The next day came *Powhatan*. *Smith* delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him *Namontack* he had sent for *England*; desiring him to come to his Father *Newport*, to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the *Monacans*.

Wherevnto this subtile Savage thus replied.

Powhatans answer.

If your King haue sent me Presents, I also am a King, and this is my land: eight dayes I will stay to receiue them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a bait: as for the Monacans *I can revenge my owne iniuries, and as for* Atquanachuk, *where you say your brother was slaine, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it; but for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the Relations you haue had from my people are false.*

Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those Regions.

Many other discourses they had (yet both content to giue each other content in complementall Courtesies) and so Captaine *Smith* returned with this Answer.

Powhatans Coronation. [*p.* 125.]

Vpon this, the Presents were sent by water which is neare an hundred myles, and the Captains went by land with fiftie good shot.

All being met at *Werowocomoco*, the next day was appointed for his Coronation, then the presents were brought him, his Bason and Ewer, Bed and furniture set vp, his scarlet Cloke and apparell with much adoe put on him, being perswaded by *Namontack* they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his Crowne, he neither knowing the maiesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselfe, to

[1608] congratulate their kindnesse, he gaue his old shooes and his mantell to Captaine *Newport.*

But perceiving his purpose was to discover the *Monacans,* he laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides more then *Namontack*; and so after some small complementall kindnesse on both sides, in requitall of his presents he presented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares that might containe some 7 or 8 Bushels, and as much more we bought in the Towne: wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The discovery of *Monacan.*

The Ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first Gentlewoman and woman-seruant that arrived in our *Colony.* Captaine *Newport* with 120 chosen men, led by Captaine *Waldo,* Lieutenant *Percie,* Captaine *Winne,* Master *West,* and Master *Scrivener,* set forward for the discovery of *Monacan,* leaving the President at the Fort with about 80. or 90. (such as they were) to relade the Ship.

Arriving at the Falles, we marched by land some fortie myles in two dayes and a halfe; and so returned downe the same path we went. Two townes we discovered of the *Monacans,* called *Massinacak* and *Mowhemenchouch*; the people neither vsed vs well nor ill, yet for our securitie we tooke one of their petty Kings, and led him bound to conduct vs the way.

And in our returnes [we] searched many places we supposed Mines, about which we spent some time in refyning, having one *William Callicut,* a refyner fitted for that purpose. From that crust of earth we digged, he perswaded vs to beleeue he extracted some small quantitie of silver; and (not vnlikely) better stuffe might be had for the digging.

[*p.* 126.]

With this poore tryall, being contented to leaue this fayre, fertile, well watered Country; and comming to the Falles, the Salvages fayned there were divers ships come into the Bay, to kill them at *Iames* Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not; for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arrived at *Iames* Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tyred with toyle, famine, and discontent, to haue onely but discovered our guilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as Captaine *Smith* fortold vs.

How the Salvages deluded Captaine *Newport.*

But those that hunger seeke to slake,
Which thus abounding wealth would rake:

Not all the gemmes of Ister *shore,* [1608]
Nor all the gold of Lydia's *store,* [69]
Can fill their greedie appetite;
It is a thing so infinite.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed so many as were able, some for Glasse, others for Tarre, Pitch, and Sope-ashes, leauing them with the Fort to the Councels oversight.

But 30 of vs he conducted downe the river some 5 myles from *Iames* towne, to learne to make Clapbord, cut downe trees, and lye in woods. Amongst the rest he had chosen *Gabriel Beadle*, and *Iohn Russell*, the onely two gallants of this last Supply, and both proper Gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, and drinking, working or playing, they but doing as the President did himselfe. All these things were carried so pleasantly as within a weeke they became Masters: making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell; but the Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drowne the eccho; for remedie of which sinne, the President devised how to haue every mans othes numbred, and at night for every othe to haue a Cann of water powred downe his sleeue, with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an othe in a weeke.

A punishment for swearing.

For he who scornes and makes but iests of cursings, and his othe,
He doth contemne, not man but God; nor God, nor man, but both.

By this, let no man thinke that the President and these Gentlemen spent their times as common Wood haggers at felling of trees, or such other like labours; or that they were pressed to it as hirelings, or common slaues; for what they did, after they were but once a little invred, it seemed and some conceited it, onely as a pleasure and recreation: yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary Gentleman would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion; but twentie good workemen had beene better then them all. [*A.* 127.] 3[o]. Men better then 100.

[1608] Master *Scrivener*, Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the woods, seeing the time consumed and no provision gotten, (and the Ship lay idle at a great charge and did nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge, giving order to the Councell to send Lieutenant *Percie* after him with the next barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges he had himselfe and 18 men, but arriving at *Chickahamania*, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolency as they could expresse. The President perceiuing it was *Powhatans* policy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their Corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murthered by them; and so landing his men and readie to charge them, they immediately fled: and presently after sent their Ambassadors with corne, fish, foule, and what they had to make their peace; (their Corne being that yeare but bad) they complained extreamely of their owne wants, yet fraughted our Boats with an hundred Bushels of Corne, and in like manner Lieutenant *Percies* that not long after arrived, and having done the best they could to content vs, we parted good friends, and returned to *Iames* towne.

The *Chickahamania's* forced to contribution.

Though this much contented the Company (that feared nothing more then starving), yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to hazzard a starving, then his paines should proue so much more effectuall then theirs. Some proiects there were invented by *Newport* and *Rat[c]liffe*, not onely to haue deposed him, but to haue kept him out of the Fort; for that being President, he would leaue his place and the Fort without their consents: but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselues more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

A bad reward for well-doing.

All this time our old Taverne made as much of all them that had either money or ware as could be desired: by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane the souldiers, saylers, and Salvages) as there was tenne times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the *Colony* things [70]

A good Taverne in *Virginia.*

that were necessary. Neither was it a small policy in *Newport* and the Marriners to report in *England* we had such plentie, and bring vs so many men without victuals, when they had so many private Factors in the Fort, that within six or seauen weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Chissels, Hows, and Pick-axes, scarce twentie could be found: and for Pike-heads, shot, Powder, or any thing they could steale from their fellowes, was vendible; they knew as well (and as secretly) how to convey them to trade with the Salvages for Furres, Baskets, *Mussaneeks*, young Beasts, or such like Commodities, as exchange them with the Saylers for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, *Aqua vitæ*, Beere, Bisket, Oatmeale, and Oyle: and then fayne all was sent them from their friends. And though *Virginia* affoorded no Furres for the Store, yet one Master in one voyage hath got so many by this indirect meanes, as he confessed to haue sold in *England* for 30*l.* [1608] [*p.* 128.] A bad trade of the masters and saylers.

Those are the Saint-seeming Worthies of *Virgina* (that haue notwithstanding all this, meate, drinke, and wages); but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented.

None hath beene in *Virginia*, that hath observed any thing, which knowes not this to be true: and yet the losse, the scorne, the misery, and shame, was the poore Officers, Gentlemen, and carelesse Governours, who were all thus bought and sold; the adventurers cousened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all men iudge, how this businesse could prosper, being thus abused by such pilfring occasions. And had not Captaine *Newport* cryed *Peccavi*, the President would haue discharged the ship, and caused him to haue stayed one yeare in *Virginia*, to learne to speake of his owne experience.

Master *Scrivener* was sent with the Barges and Pinnace to *Werowocomoco*, where he found the Salvages more readie to fight then trade: but his vigilancy was such as prevented their proiects, and by the meanes of *Namontack*, [he] got three or foure hogsheads of Corne; and as much *Pocones*, which is a red roote, which then was esteemed an excellent Dye. Master *Scriveners* voyage to *Werowocomoco*.

Captaine *Newport* being dispatched, with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, Sope ashes; with

[1608] that Clapboord and Waynscot that could be provided:
[p. 129.] met with Master *Scrivener* at poynt *Comfort*, and so returned for *England*. We remaining were about two hundred.

¶ The Copy of a Letter sent to the Treasurer and Councell of *Virginia* from Captaine *Smith*, then President in VIRGINIA.

Right Honorable, &c.

I Received your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set vpon faction, and idle conceits in diuiding the Country without your consents, and that we feed You *but with ifs and ands, hopes, and some few proofes; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to our selues: and that we must expresly follow your instructions sent by Captaine* Newport: *the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which*
[p. 928.] *if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer.*

For our factions, vnlesse you would haue me run away and leaue the Country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter sent [? by Captain *Newport's* ship in April 1608, *p.* 389] *to my Lord of* Salisbury, *by the President* [Ratcliffe] *and his confederats, for diuiding the Country &c. What it was I know not, for you saw no hand* [**71**] *of mine to it; nor euer dream't I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no scholer, I am past a schoole-boy; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here, doe know but that I haue learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I haue not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare some cause you to beleeue much more then is true.*

Expresly to follow your directions by Captaine Newport, *though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our Commission, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of vs all; which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Onely Captaine*

Winne *and Captaine* Waldo *I haue sworne of the Councell,* [1608]
and Crowned Powhatan *according to your instructions.*

For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we haue not receiued the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, Newport *had* 120 *of the best men he could chuse. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might haue carried her in a bag; but as she is, fiue hundred cannot, to a navigable place aboue the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold, or any of them sent by Sir* Walter Raleigh: *at our Consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirtie myles, (which might as well haue beene done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a seasonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to serue the Fort.*

In their absence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Sope-ashes, and Clapboord; whereof some small quantities we haue sent you. But if you rightly consider, what an infinite toyle it is in Russia *and* Swethland, *where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beast in those ancient Common-wealths, which many an hundred yeares haue vsed it; yet thousands of those poore people can scarce get necessaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from vs any such matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get wherewith to liue, and defend our selues against the inconstant* Salvages: *finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things els the* Russians *haue.*

For the Coronation of Powhatan, *by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this giue me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the* Salvages *harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it; our owne not being halfe sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships loading of Corne* Newport *promised to provide vs from* Powhatan, *he brought vs but foureteene Bushels; and from the* Monacans *nothing, but the most of the men sicke*

[1608] *and neare famished. From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to liue vpon this: the one halfe sicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wilde, and we so weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine* Newport *we much suspect to be the Authour of those inventions.*

Now that you should know, I haue made you as great a discovery as he, for lesse charge then he spendeth you every meale; I haue sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed [**72**] *Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good Iron ore at the least; so devided, as by their notes yon may see in what places I found them.*

The Souldiers say many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you send vs: and that Newport *hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every master you haue yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pound might be spared, which is more then we haue all, that helps to pay him wages.*

Captaine Rat[c]liffe *is now called* Sicklemore, *a poore counterfeited Imposture. I haue sent you him home, least the company should cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell yon: if he and* Archer *returne againe, they are sufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions.*

When you send againe I intreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers vp of trees, roots, well provided; then a thousand of such as we haue: for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for any thing.

Thus if you please to consider this account, and of the vnnecessary wages to Captaine Newport, *or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leaue vs victuals for* 12 *moneths; though we had* 89 *by this discovery lame and sicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to giue him three hogsheads of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to send into* Germany *or* Poleland *for glasse-men and the rest, till we be able to sustaine*

our selues, and relieue them when they come. It were better to giue fiue hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in Denmarke, *then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in over-toyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selues from one Supply to another.* [1608]

And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let vs know what we should receiue, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leaue vs what they please; els you may charge vs with what you will, but we not you with any thing.

These are the causes that haue kept vs in Virginia, *from laying such a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes: so I humbly rest.*

The Names of those in this Supply, were these: with their Proceedings and Accidents. [p. 129.]

Captaine *Peter Winne*, Captaine *Richard Waldo*, were appoynted to be of the Councell.

Master *Francis VVest*, brother to the Lord *La VVarre*.

Thomas Graues.	Gent.	*George Burton.*	Gent.
Raleigh Chroshaw.		*Thomas Abbay.*	
Gabriel Beadle.		*William Dowman.*	
Iohn Beadle.		*Thomas Maxes.*	
Iohn Russell.		*Michael Lowick.*	
William Russell.		Master *Hunt.*	
Iohn Cuderington.		*Thomas Forrest.*	
William Sambage.		*Iohn Dauxe.*	
Henry Leigh.			
Henry Philpot.		*Thomas Phelps.*	Tradesmen [*i.e., Artizans*].
Harmon Harrison.		*Iohn Prat.*	
Daniel Tucker.		*Iohn Clarke.*	
Henry Collings.		*Ieffrey Shortridge.*	
Hugh Wolleston.		*Dionis Oconor.*	
Iohn Hoult.		*Hugh Winne.*	
Thomas Norton.		*Dauid ap Hugh.*	
George Yarington.		*Thomas Bradley.*	[73]

[1608]

Iohn Burras.	Tradesmen.	*Nicholas Hancock.*	Labourers.
Thomas Lavander.		*Walker.*	
Henry Bell.		*Williams.*	
Master *Powell.*		*Floud.*	
David Ellis.		*Morley.*	
Thomas Gibson.		*Rose.*	
Thomas Dawse.	Labourers.	*Scot.*	
Thomas Mallard.		*Hardwyn.*	
William Tayler.		*Milman.*	Boyes.
Thomas Fox.		*Hilliard.*	

Mistresse *Forrest,* and *Anne Burras* her maide; eight *Dutch* men and *Poles,* with some others, to the number of seaventie persons, &c.

Nandsamund forced to contribution. [*p.* 130.]

These poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine, that the President provided for *Nandsamund,* and tooke with him Captaine *Winne,* and Master *Scrivener,* then returning from Captaine *Newport.*

These people also long denied him not onely the 400 Baskets of Corne they promised [*p.* 432], but any trade at all; (excusing themselues they had spent most they had; and were commanded by *Powhatan* to keepe that they had, and not to let vs come into their river) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce.

Vpon the discharging of our Muskets they all fled and shot not an Arrow; the first house we came to we set on fire, which when they perceiued, they desired we would make no more spoyle, and they would giue vs halfe they had: how they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three Boats.

And so we returned to our quarter some foure myles downe the River, which was onely the open woods vnder the lay of a hill, where all the ground was covered with snow, and hard frozen; the snow we digged away and made a great fire in the place; when the ground was well dryed, we turned away the fire; and covering the place with a mat, there we lay very warme. To keepe vs from the winde we made a shade of another Mat; as the winde turned we turned our shade: and when the ground grew cold we remoued the fire. And thus many a cold winter night haue wee laine in this miserable manner, yet those

that most commonly went vpon all those occasions, were alwayes in health, lusty, and fat. [1608]

For sparing them this yeare, the next yeare they promised to plant purposely for vs; and so we returned to *Iames* towne.

About this time there was a marriage betwixt *Iohn Laydon* and *Anne Burras*; which was the first marriage we had in *Virginia*. The first marriage in *Virginia*.

Long he stayed not, but fitting himselfe and Captaine *Waldo* with two Barges. From *Chawopoweanock*, and all parts thereabouts, all the people were fled, as being iealous of our intents; till we discovered the river and people of *Apamatuck*; where we found not much: that they had we equally divided; but gaue them copper and such things as contented them in consideration. *Apamatuck* discovered.

Master *Scrivener* and Lieutenant *Percie* went also abroad, but could find nothing.

The President seeing the procrastinating of time, was no course to liue, resolved with Captaine *Waldo* (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprise *Powhatan*, and all his provision, but the vnwillingnesse of Captaine *Winne*, and Master *Scrivener* (for some private respect, plotted in *England* to ruine Captaine *Smith*) [*p.*460], did their best to hinder their proiect.

But the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, giue him a gryndstone, fiftie swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads, he would load his Ship with Corne.

The President not ignorant of his devises and subtiltie, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunitie, presently sent three *Dutch*-men and two *English*; having so small allowance, [that] few were able to doe any thing to purpose: knowing there needed no better a Castle to effect this proiect, tooke order with Captaine *Waldo* to second him, if need required. *Scrivener* he left his substitute, and set forth with the Pinnace, two Barges, and fortie six men, which onely were such as voluntarily offered themselues for his Iourney, the which [*p.* 131.] by reason of Master *Scriveners* ill successe, was censured very desperate: they all knowing *Smith* would not returne emptie, if it were to be had; howsoever, it caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behinde. [74]

CHAPTER VIII.

Captaine Smiths *Iourney to* Pamavnkee.

[1608-9] THe twentie-nine of December [1608] he set forward for *Werowocomoco:* his Company were these;

In the Discovery Barge himselfe.

Robert Behethland.	Gent.	*Anas Todkill.*	Souldiers.
Nathanael Graues.		*William Loue.*	
Iohn Russell.		*William Bentley.*	
Raleigh Chrashow.		*Ieffrey Shortridge.*	
Michael Sicklemore.		*Edward Pising.*	
Richard Worley.		*William Ward.*	

In the Pinnace.

Lieutenant *Percie*, brother to the Earle of Northumberland.
Master *Francis West*, brother to the Lord *La Warre.*
William Phittiplace, Captaine of the Pinnace.

Michael Phittiplace.	Gent.	*Ionas Profit*, Master.	
Ieffrey Abbot, Serieant.		*Robert Ford*, Clarke of the Councell.	
William Tankard.			
George Yarington.			
Iames Browne.	Souldiers.	*Iohn Dods*, Souldier.	
Edward Brinton.		*Henry Powell*, Souldier.	
George Burton.			
Thomas Coe.			

Thomas Gipson, David Ellis, Nathanael Peacock, Saylers;
[p. 132.] *Iohn Prat, George Acrig, Iames Read, Nicholas Hancock, Iames Watkins, Thomas Lambert*, foure *Dutch*-men, and *Richard Salvage* were sent by land before, to build the house for *Powhatan* against our Arrivall.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes, lodged the first night at *Warraskoyack*, where the President tooke sufficient provision.

This kind King did his best to divert him from seeing *Powhatan*; but perceiuing he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner.

Captaine *Smith*, you shall find *Powhatan* to vse you kindly: but trust him not, and be sure he haue no oportunitie to seize on your Armes; for he hath sent for you onely to cut your throats. [1608-9] The good counsell of *Warraskoyack*.

The Captaine thanking him for his good counsell: yet the better to try his loue, desired guides to *Chawwonock*; for he would send a present to that King, to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney was sent Master *Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honest, and a painefull Souldier: with him two guides, and directions how to seeke for the lost company of Sir *Walter Raleighs*, and silke Grasse.

Then we departed thence, the President assuring the King [of his] perpetuall loue; and left with him *Samuel Collier* his Page to learne the Language.

So this Kings deeds by sacred Oath adiur'd.
More wary proues, and circumspect by ods:
Fearing at least his double forfeiture;
To offend his friends, and sin against his Gods.

The next night [30 *Dec.* 1608], being lodged at *Kecoughtan*; six or seaven dayes the extreame winde, rayne, frost and snow caused vs to keepe Christmas [31 *Dec.* 1608—6 *Jan.* 1609] among the Salvages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wild-foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in *England*, then in the dry smoaky houses of *Kecoughtan*. Plentie of victualls.

But departing thence, when we found no houses we were not curious in any weather to lye three or foure nights together vnder the trees by a fire, as formerly is sayd [*p.* 446]. An hundred fortie eight foules the President, *Anthony Bagnall*, and Serieant *Pising* did kill at three shoots. 148 Foules killed at three shootes.

At *Kiskiack* the frost and contrary winds forced vs three or foure dayes also (to suppresse the insolency of those proud Salvages) to quarter in their houses, yet guard our Barge, and cause them [to] giue vs what we wanted; though we were but twelue and himselfe, yet we never wanted shelter where we found any houses. [*p.* 133.]

The 12 of Ianuary [1609] we arrived at *Werowocomoco*, where the river was frozen neare halfe a myle from the shore; but to neglect [**75**] no time, the President with his Barge so far had approached by breaking the ice, as the ebbe left him

[1609] amongst those oasie shoules, yet rather then to lye there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march neere middle deepe, a flight shot through this muddy frozen oase. When the Barge floated, he appoynted two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace. Where for want of water, in melting the ice, they made fresh water, for the river there was salt. But in this march Master *Russell*, (whom none could perswade to stay behinde) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heauie, so overtoyled himselfe as the rest had much adoe (ere he got ashore) to regaine life into his dead benummed spirits.

Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to *Powhatan* for provision; who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison.

The next day [13 *Jan.*] having feasted vs after his ordinary manner, he began to aske vs when we would be gone: fayning he sent not for vs, neither had he any corne; and his people much lesse: yet for fortie swords he would procure vs fortie Baskets.

The President shewing him the men there present that brought him the message and conditions, asked *Powhatan* how it chanced he became so forgetfull; thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and swords, valuing a Basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper; saying he could rate [*eat*] his Corne, but not the Copper.

Captaine *Smiths* discourse to *Powhatan.*

Captaine *Smith* seeing the intent of this subtill Salvage, began to deale with him after this manner.

Powhatan, though I had many courses to haue made my provision, yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected
[*p.* 134.] *all to satisfie your desire: and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting mine owne. What your people had, you haue engrossed, forbidding them our trade: and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not having to fulfill your strange demands. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe I had none to spare; and you must know those I haue can keepe me from want: yet steale or wrong you I will not, nor dissolue that friendship we haue mutually promised, except you constraine me by our bad vsage.*

Powhatans reply and flattery.

The King having attentively listned to this Discourse, promised that *both he and his Country would spare him what he could, the which within two dayes they should receiue. Yet*

Captaine Smith, sayth the King, *some doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would: for many doe informe me, your comming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To free vs of this feare, leaue aboord your weapons, for here they are needlesse, we being all friends, and for ever* Powhatans. [1609]

With many such discourses, they spent the day; quartering that night in the Kings houses.

The next day [14 *Jan.*] he renewed his building, which hee little intended should proceede. For the *Dutch*-men finding his plentie, and knowing our want; and perceiving his preparations to surprise vs, little thinking we could escape both him and famine; (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him so much as they knew of our estates and proiects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so great a spirit, iudgement, and resolution; and a hireling that was certaine of his wages for his labour, and ever well vsed both he and his Countrymen; that the President knew not whom better to trust: and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, he sent him as a spy to discover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villa[i]ny till neare halfe a yeare after [*p.* 467].

Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a copper Kettell, the which the President perceiving him much to affect, valued it at a much greater rate; but in regard of his scarcity he would accept it, provided we should haue as much more the next yeare, or els the Country of *Monacan*. Wherewith each seemed well contented, and *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference of Peace and Warre after this manner. [*p.* 135.]

Powhatans discourse of peace and warre.

Captaine Smith, *you may vnderstand that I having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not any one liuing of those three generations but my selfe; I know the difference of Peace and Warre better then any in my Country. But now I am old and ere long must die, my brethren* [**76**], *namely* Opitchapam, Opechancanough, *and* Kekataugh, *my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors. I wish their experience no lesse then mine, and your loue to them no*

[1609] *lesse then mine to you. But this bruit from* Nandsamund, *that you are come to destroy my Country, so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly haue by loue, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging vs your friends. And why are you thus iealous of our loues seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede vpon Acornes, rootes, and such trash; and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eate, nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine* Smith: *then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with miserable feare, end my*
[*p.* 136.] *miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash vnaduisednesse may quickly as miserably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and every yeere our friendly trade shall furnish you with Corne; and now also, if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your guns and swords as to invade your foes.*

Captaine *Smiths* Reply. To this subtill discourse, the President thus replyed.

Seeing you will not rightly conceiue of our words, we striue to make you know our thoughts by our deeds; the vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept. As for your promise I find it euery day violated by some of your subiects: yet we finding your loue and kindenesse, our custome is so far from being vngratefull, that for your sake onely, we haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge; els had they knowne as well the crueltie we vse to our enemies, as our true loue and courtesie to our friends. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue, as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue (by our Armes) of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this we could haue effected it. Your people comming to Iames *Towne are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without any exceptions; we esteeming it with you as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell. As*

for the danger of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure: for your riches we haue no vse: as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the woods, we shall not so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge. [1609]

Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade. But the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard [not] dispersed, nor our men disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his minde once more in this manner.

[*p.* 137.] *Powhatans* importunity to haue vs vnarmed to betray vs.

Captaine Smith, *I neuer vse any Werowance so kindely as your selfe, yet from you I receiue the least kindnesse of any.* Captaine Newport *gaue me swords, copper, cloathes, a bed, towels, or what I desired; euer taking what I offered him, and would send away his gunnes when I intreated him: none doth deny to lye* [lay] *at my feet, or refuse to doe, what I desire, but onely you; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will haue whatsoeuer you demand.* Captaine Newport *you call father, and so you call me; but I see for all vs both you will doe what you list, and we must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your armes, that I may beleeue you; for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause me thus nakedly to forget my selfe.*

Smith seeing this Salvage but trifle the time to cut his throat, procured the Salvages to breake the ice, that his Boate might come to fetch his corne and him; and gaue order for more men to come on shore, to surprise the King, with whom also he but trifled the time till his men were landed: and to keepe him from suspicion, entertained the time with this reply.

Captaine *Smiths* discourse to delay time, till he found oportunity to surprise the King.

Powhatan *you must know, as I haue but one God, I honour but one King; and I liue not here as your subiect, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visit mee as I doe you, you should know it is not our custome, to sell our curtesies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your* [77] *countrey with you for your guard, I will not dislike it as being ouer iealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leaue my Armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will loue you: but the small care you haue of such a childe caused my men to perswade me to looke to my selfe.*

[The last time *Smith* sees *Powhatan*.]

By this time *Powhatan* hauing knowledge his men were

[1609] ready; whilest the ice was a breaking, with his luggage women and children, fled. Yet to auoyd suspicion, left two or three of the women talking with the Captaine, whilest hee secretly ran away, and that his men secretly beset the house. Which being presently discouered to *Captaine Smith,* with his pistoll, sword, and target hee made such a passage among these naked Diuels; that at his first shoot, they next him tumbled one ouer another, and the rest quickly fled some one way, some another: so that without any hurt, onely accompanied with *Iohn Russell,* hee obtained the *corps du guard.*

Powhatans plot to haue murdered *Smith.*

[*p.* 138.]

When they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his eighteene men (for he had no more with him a shore), to the vttermost of their skill they sought excuses to dissemble the matter: and *Powhatan* to excuse his flight and the sudden comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a great bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Oratour that bespoke vs to this purpose; perceiuing euen then from our Pinnace, a Barge and men departing and comming vnto vs.

A chaine of pearle sent the Captaine for a present.

Captaine Smith, *our Werowance is fled, fearing your gunnes, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, sent these numbers but to guard his corne from stealing, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet* Powhatan *is your friend and so will for euer continue. Now since the ice is open, he would haue you send away your corne; and if you would haue his company, send away also your gunnes, which so affrighteth his people, that they dare not come to you as hee promised they should.*

Then hauing prouided baskets for our men to carry our corne to the boats, they kindly offered their seruice to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were of goodly well proportioned fellowes, as grim as Diuels; yet [at] the very sight of cocking our matches, and being to let fly, a few wordes caused them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our corne on their backes; wee needed not importune them to make dispatch.

Pretending to kill our men loaded with baskets, we caused them do it themselues.

But our Barges being left on the oase by the ebbe, caused vs stay till the next high-water; so that wee returned againe to our old quarter.

Powhatan and his Dutch-men brusting with desire to haue

the head of Captaine *Smith*; for if they could but kill him, they thought all was theirs, neglected not any op[p]ortunity to effect his purpose. The Indians with all the merry sports they could deuise, spent the time till night: then they all returned to *Powhatan*, who all this time was making ready his forces to surprise the house and him at supper. [1609]

Notwithstanding the eternall all-seeing God did preuent him, and by a strange meanes. For *Pocahontas* his dearest iewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent vs by and by: but *Powhatan* and all the power he could make, would after come kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with our owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore if we would liue, shee wished vs presently to bee gone. Such things as shee delighted in, he would haue giuen her: but with the teares running downe her cheekes, shee said shee durst not be seene to haue any: for if *Powhatan* should know it, she were but dead, and so shee ranne away by her selfe as she came.

Pocahontas bewrayes her fathers deceit to kill vs.

Within lesse than an houre came eight or ten lusty fellowes, with great platters of venison and other victuall, very importunate to haue vs put out our matches (whose smoake made them sicke) and sit down to our victuall. But the Captaine made them taste euery dish, which done hee sent some of them backe to *Powhatan*, to bid him make haste for hee was prepared for his comming. As for them hee knew they came to betray him at his supper: but hee would prevent them and all their other intended villanies: so that they might be gone. Not long after came more messengers, to see what newes; not long after them, others.

Thus wee spent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high-water, yet seemed to the saluages [**78**] as friendly as they to vs: and that wee were so desirous to giue *Powhatan* content, as hee requested, wee did leaue him *Edward Brynton* to kill him foule, and the Dutch-men to finish his house; thinking at our returne from *Pamavnkee* the frost would be gone, and then we might finde a better op[p]ortunity if necessity did occasion it, little dreaming yet of the Dutch-mens treachery, whose humor well su[i]ted this verse:

Is any free, that may not liue as freely as he list?
Let vs liue so, then w'are as free, and bruitish as the best.

[*p.* 139.]

CHAPTER IX.

How wee escaped surprising at Pamavnkee.

[1609]

The Dutch men deceiue Captaine *Winne.*

WE had no sooner set sayle but *Powhatan* returned, and sent *Adam* and *Francis* (two stout Dutch-men [*pp.* 467, 487]) to *Iames* towne: who faining to Captaine *Winne* that all things were well, and that Captaine *Smith* had vse of their armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were giuen them). They told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles, and shift of apparell; by which colourable excuse they obtained sixe or seauen more to their confederacie, such expert theeues, that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder and such like: Saluages they had at hand to carry it away; and the next day they returned vnsuspected, leauing their confederates to follow, and in the interim to convay them such things as they could: for which seruice they should liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen [to] the Colony.

The Dutch men furnish the Saluages with Armes.

Samuel their other consort *Powhatan* kept for their pledge, whose diligence had prouided them three hundred of their kinde of hatchets; the rest fifty swords, eight peeces, and eight pikes.

Brynton and *Richard Salvage* seeing the Dutch-men so diligent to accommodate the Saluages with weapons, attempted to haue gotten to *Iames* towne; but they were apprehended, and expected euer when to be put to death.

Within two or three dayes, we arriued at *Pamavnkee*, the King as many dayes entertained vs with feasting and much mirth.

And the day appointed to beginne our trade, the President, Lieutenant *Percie*, Master *West*, Master *Russell*, Master *Behethland*, Master *Crashaw*, Master *Powell*, Master *Ford*, and some others to the number of fifteene, went vp to *Opechancanoughs* house a quarter of a mile from the riuer; where wee found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy: and all the houses round about of all things abandoned.

[*p.* 140.]

Not long wee stayed ere the King arriued, and after him came diuerse of his people loaden with bowes and arrowes: but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at

such a value, as our Captaine began with the King after this manner. [1609]

Opechancanough, the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceit by your actions. Last yeere you kindly fraughted our ship: but now you haue inuited mee to starue with hunger: you know my want, and I your plenty; of which by some meanes I must haue part: remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the rest I will proportion fit bargains for your people. *Smiths* Speech to *Opechancanough.*

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer, and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our owne content; promising the next day, more company, better prouided.

The Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of Master *Phetiplace*; the President [*the next day*] with his old fifteene marched vp to the Kings house: where wee found foure or fiue men newly arriued, each with a great basket.

Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerfulnesse held vs with discourse what paines he had taken to keep his promise; till Master *Russell* brought vs in newes that we were all betrayed: for at least seuen hundred Saluages well armed, had inuironed [**79**] the house, and beset the fields. 700. Saluages beset the English being but 16.

The King coniecturing what *Russell* related, wee could well perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismaied with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine encouraged vs to this effect.

Worthy Countrey-men, were the mischiefes of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared were they as many more: if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councell with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace-breaker (in their opinions in England) as will breake my necke. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein I pray you aid mee with your opinions. Should wee beginne with them and surprise the King, we cannot keepe him and defend well our selues. If wee should each kill our man, and so proceed with all in the house; the rest will all fly: then shall wee get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and so starue for victuall. As for their fury it is the least danger; for well you know, being *Smiths* speech to his Company. [*p.* 141.]

[1609] *alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them by the helpe of God compound to saue my life. And wee are sixteene, and they but seauen hundred at the most; and assure your selues, God will so assist vs, that if you dare stand but to discharge your pieces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoeuer, let vs fight like men, and not die like sheepe: for by that meanes you know God hath oft deliuered mee, and so I trust will now. But first, I will deale with them, to bring it to passe wee may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me you will be valiant.*

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoeuer hee attempted or die: whereupon the Captaine in plaine tearmes told the King this.

Smiths offer to *Opechancanough.*

I see Opechancanough *your plot to murder me, but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme, but by our direction. Take therefore your Armes, you see mine, my body shall bee as naked as yours: the Isle in your riuer is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of vs two) shall be Lord and Master ouer all our men. If you haue not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will; so euery one bring a basket of corne, against all which I will stake the value in copper: you see I haue but fifteene, and our game shall be, the Conquerour take all.*

Opechancanoughs deuice to betray *Smith.*

The King being guarded with forty or fifty of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease *Smiths* suspicion of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him out of the doore, where the bait was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart as a barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to shoot.

[*p.* 142.]

The President commanded one [*evidently a soldier*] to go see what kind of deceit this was, and to receiue the present; but hee refused to doe it; yet the Gentlemen and all the rest were importunate to goe, but he would not permit them, being vexed at that Coward: and commanded Lieutenant *Percie,* Master *West,* and the rest to make good the house; Master *Powell* and Master *Behethland* he commanded to guard the doore; and in such a rage snatched the King by his long locke in the middest of his men, with his Pistoll readie bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling King, neare dead with feare amongst all his people: who delivering the Captaine

Smith taketh the King prisoner.

his Vambrace, Bow, and Arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner haue vsed their King: who then to escape himselfe bestowed his presents in good sadnesse. [1609]

And causing a great many of them come before him vnarmed, holding the King by the hayre (as is sayd), he spake to them to this effect.

Smiths discourse to the Pamavnkees.

I see (you Pamavnkees*) the great desire you haue to kill me, and my long suffering your iniuries hath imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serue) to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to be your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me; if I breake it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow to shed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or steale the least of these Beads, or Copper, I spurne here before you with my foot; you shall see I will not cease revenge (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to finde one of* [80] *your Nation that will not deny the name of* Pamavnk. *I am not now at* Rassaweak *halfe drowned with myre, where you tooke me prisoner; yet then for keeping your promise and your good vsage and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denyals of your trechery doe halfe perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you ayme at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my Ship ere I departed, and so you shall; or I meane to load her with your dead carcasses: yet if as friends you will* [p. 143.] *come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion; and your King shall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you.*

The Salvages dissemble their intent.

Vpon this, away went their Bowes and Arrowes; and men, women, and children brought in their Commodities: two or three houres they so thronged about the President and so overwearied him, as he retyred himselfe to rest, leauing Master *Behethland* and Master *Powell* to receiue their presents.

But some Salvages perceiuing him fast asleepe, and the guard somewhat carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choise men each with a club or an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house with two or hundred others, that pressed to second them. The noyse and hast they made in, did so shake the house they awoke him from his sleepe; and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, [he] betooke him

[1609] strait to his sword and Target; Master *Crashaw* and some others charged in like manner; whereat they quickly thronged faster backe than before forward. The house thus cleansed, the King and some of his auncients we kept yet with him, who with a long Oration, excused this intrusion.

Their excuse and reconcilement.

The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the companie againe renewing their presents with their best provisions, and whatsoever he gaue them they seemed therewith well contented.

Now in the meane while, since our departure, this hapned at our Fort.

The losse of Master *Scrivener* and others with a Skiff.

Master *Scrivener* having receiued Letters from *England* to make himselfe either *Cæsar* or nothing, he began to decline in his affection to Captaine *Smith* [*p.* 447], that ever regarded him as himselfe; and was willing to crosse the surprising of *Powhatan*. Some certaine daies after the Presidents departure, he would needs goe visit the Isle of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the President had appointed him to be ready to second his occasions) with Master *Anthony Gosnoll* and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat sunke, but where or how none doth know. The Skiff was much over-loaden, and would scarce haue liued in that extreame tempest had she beene empty: but by no perswasion he could be diverted, though both *Waldo* and an hundred others doubted as it hapned.

[*p.* 144.] The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects.

To advertise the President of this heavie newes, none could be found would vndertake it, but the Iorney was often refused of all in the Fort, vntill Master *Richard Wyffin* vndertooke alone the performance thereof. In this Iourney he was incountred with many dangers and difficulties in all parts as he passed. As for that night he lodged with *Powhatan*, [*at Werowocomoco, see pp.* 456, 463] perceiuing such preparation for warre, not finding the President there: he did assure himselfe some mischiefe was intended. *Pocahontas* hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the cleane contrary way to seeke him; but by her meanes and extraordinry bribes and much trouble in three dayes [? 19–22 *Jan.* 1609] travell, at length he found

Master *Wyffins* desperate iourney.

vs in the middest of these turmoyles [*apparently about 22 Jan.* 1609, *i.e., on the day Smith had seized* Opechancanough]. [1609]
This vnhappy newes the President swore him to conceale from the company, and so dissembling his sorrow with the best countenances he could, when the night approched [he] went safely aboord with all his Souldiers; leauing *Opechancanough* at libertie, according to his promise, the better to haue *Powhatan* in his returne.

Powhatan constraineth his men to be trecherous.

Now so extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine *Smith*: that the next day, they appointed all the countrey should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be trecherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting with him almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe.

The next morning, the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people and Baskets, to tempt vs on shore: but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a gun. [**81**]

The third attempt to betray vs.

When the President saw them begin to depart, being vnwilling to loose such a bootie, he so well contrived the Pinnace and his Barges with Ambuscadoes, as onely with Lieutenant *Percie*, Master *West*, and Master *Russell*, with their Armes [he] went on shore; others he appointed vnarmed to receiue what was brought. The Salvages flocked before him in heapes, and the banke serving as a trench for a retreat, he drew them fayre open to his Ambuscado's.

For he not being to be perswaded to goe [and] visit their King, the King knowing the most of them [to be] vnarmed, came to visit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones; and with some twentie men, and many women loaden with painted Baskets. But when they approached somewhat neare vs, their women and [*p.* 145.] children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure, yet so trembled with feare as they were scarse able to nock their Arrowes: *Smith* standing, with his three men ready bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our Ambuscado's; who vpon the word discovered themselues, and he retyred to the Barge. Which the Salvages

[1609] no sooner perceived, then away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage.

That night we sent Master *Chrashaw*, and Master *Ford* [*evidently in a barge*], to *Iames* towne to Captaine *Winne*. In the way betweene *Werowocomoco* and the Fort, they met foure or fiue of the *Dutch*-mens Confederates going to *Powhatan*: the which to excuse those Gentlemens suspition of their running to the Salvages, returned to the Fort and there continued.

The Salvages hearing our Barge goe downe the river in the night, were so terribly affrayde, that we sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and wires [*weirs*]), that the next day the King sent our Captaine a chayne of Pearle, to alter his purpose and stay his men: promising though they wanted themselues, to fraught our ship and bring it aboord to avoyd suspition: so that, fiue or six dayes after, from all parts of the Country within ten or twelue myles, in the extreame frost and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes.

A chayne of pearle sent to obtaine peace.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poyson beene sufficient, the President, with Master *West*, and some others had beene poysoned; it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe.

The President poysoned: the offender punished.

Wecuttanow, a stout young fellow, knowing he was suspected for bringing this present of poyson, with fortie or fiftie of his chiefe companions (seeing the President but with a few men at *Potavncak*) so proudly braued it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving, in the midst of his company, did not onely beate, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe. Wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue so well escaped: and the townsmen remaining presently fraughted our Barge to be rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse *Wecuttanow*, (being sonne to their chiefe King, but [*excepting*] *Powhatan*) and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to vs to punish as we pleased.

[*p.* 146.]

Men may thinke it strange there should be such a stirre for a little corne, but had it beene gold with more ease wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole *Colony* had

starued. Wee may be thought very patient to endure all those iniuries, yet onely with fearing them wee got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge; then by their losse, we should haue lost our selues. [1609]

We searched also the Countries of *Youghtanund* and *Mattapanient*, where the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and teares from the eyes of women and children, as he had beene too cruell to haue beene a Christian, that would not haue beene satisfied and m ued with compassion. The Salvages want and povertie.

But had this hapned in October, November, and December, when that vnhappie discovery of *Monacan* was made, we might haue fraughted a ship of fortie tuns, and twise as much might haue beene had from the Rivers of *Rapahanock*, *Patawomek*, and *Pawtuxunt*.

The maine occasion of our thus temporizing with them was, to part friends as we did, to giue the lesse cause of suspition to *Powhatan* to fly [*i.e.*, *from Werowocomoco*]; by whom we now returned [**82**] with a purpose to haue surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof (when we came against the Towne) the President sent Master *Wyffin* and Master *Coe* ashore to discover and make way for his intended proiect.

But they found that those damned *Dutch*-men had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house and *Werowocomoco*, and to carry away all his corne and provision: and the people they found so ill affected, that they were in great doubt how to escape with their liues. The *Dutch*-men did much hurt.

So the President finding his intent frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, sent Master *Michael Phittiplace* by Land to *Iames* towne, whether we sayled with all the speed we could; wee having in this Iourney (for 25l[bs]. of Copper, and 50l[bs]. of Iron and Beads) enough to keepe 46 men six weekes [*i.e.*, *from* 29 *Dec.* 1608 *to about* 8 *Feb.* 1609], and every man for his reward a moneths provision extraordinary (no Trade being allowed but for the store). We got neare 200l[b]. waight of deere suet, and delivered to the Cape Merchant 479 Bushels of Corne. [*p.* 147.]

Those temporizing proceedings to some may seeme too

[1609] charitable, to such a daily daring trecherous people: to others not pleasing, that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransacking, and destroying (as did the *Spanyards*) the simple bodies of such ignorant soules; nor delightfull, because not stuffed with Relations of heapes and mynes of gold and silver, nor such rare commodities, as the *Portugals* and *Spanyards* found in the East and West *Indies*. The want whereof hath begot vs (that were the first vndertakers) no lesse scorne and contempt, then the noble conquests and valiant adventures beautified with it, prayse and honour. Too much I confesse the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit: and to cleare vs from the blind worlds ignorant censure, these few words may suffice any reasonable vnderstanding.

An Apology for the first Planters.

It was the *Spanyards* good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence, it affoorded victualls at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, they had the vse of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those Countries affoorded: so that, what the *Spanyard* got was chiefely the spoyle and pillage of those Countrey people, and not the labours of their owne hands. But had those fruitfull Countries beene as salvage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as *Virginia*: their proper labours it is likely would haue produced as small profit as ours.

But had *Virginia* beene peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious Iewels, and rich commodities as was the *Indies*: then had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might be expected from vs, the [p 148.] world might then haue traduced vs and our merits, and haue made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a Land even as God made it, where we found onely an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold and silver, or any commodities, and carelesse of any thing but from hand to mouth, except ba[u]bles of no worth; nothing to incourage vs, but what accidentally we found Nature afforded. Which ere we could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our Adventurers; we were

to discover the Countrey, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civill, and industrious, and teach them trades, that the fruits of their labours might make vs some recompence; or plant such *Colonies* of our owne, that must first make prouision how to liue of themselues, ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the Country: which doubtlesse will be as commodious for *England* as the west *Indies* for *Spaine*, if it be rightly mannaged: notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions, that will argue the contrary, as formerly some haue done against the *Spanyards* and *Portugalls*. [1609]

But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion, I onely say this, for those that the three first yeares began this Plantation; notwithstanding all their factions, mutinies, and miseries, so gently corrected, and well prevented: pervse the *Spanish Decades*; the Relations of Master *Hackluit*, and tell me how many ever with such small meanes as a Barge of 22 [*or rather* two] tuns, sometimes with seauen, eight, or nine, or but at most, twelue or sixteene men, did ever discover so [**83**] many fayre and navigable Rivers, subiect so many severall Kings, people, and Nations, to obedience and contribution, with so little bloudshed.

And if in the search of those Countries we had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it as obedience and contribution; but if we haue overskipped it, we will not enuie them that shall find it: yet can we not but lament, it was our fortunes to end when we had but onely learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

By *Richard Wyffin*, *William Phittiplace*, *Ieffrey Abbot*, and *Anas Todkill*.

CHAPTER X.

[*p.* 145

How the Salvages *became subiect to the* English.

WHen the Ships departed, all the provision of the Store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers rayne, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges

[1609] would scarcely eate it. Yet it was the Souldiers dyet till our returnes [*about* 8 *Feb.* 1609], so that we found nothing done, but our victuals spent; and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our Armes conveyed to the Salvages.

But now casting vp the Store, and finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned, and the company divided into tens, fifteens, or as the businesse required; six houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in Pastime and merry exercises.

But the vntowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President [to] advise as followeth.

The Presidents advice to the Company.

Countrymen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe, and thinke not that either my pains, nor the Adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloath. I speake not this to you all, for divers of you I know deserue both honour and reward, better then is yet here to be had: but the greater part must be more industrious, or starue, how euer you haue beene heretofore tollerated by the authoritie of the Councell, from that I haue often commanded you. You see now that power resteth wholly in my selfe: you must obey this now for a Law, that he that will not worke shall not eate (except by sicknesse he be disabled:) for the labours of thirtie or fortie honest and industrious men shall not be consumed to maintaine an hundred and fiftie idle loyterers. And though you presume the authoritie here is but a shadow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any but my owne must answer it: the Letters patents shall each weeke be read to you, whose Contents will tell you the contrary. I would wish you therefore without contempt seeke to obserue these orders set downe, for there are now no more Counsellers to protect you, nor curbe my endevours. Therefore he that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment.

[*pp.* 149, 157, and 473.]

[*p.* 150.]

He made also a Table [*notice board*], as a publicke memoriall of every mans deserts, to incourage the good, and with shame to spurre on the rest to amendment. By this many became very industrious, yet more by punishment performed their businesse; for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevaile to deceiue him.

Yet the *Dutch*-mens consorts so closely convayed them

powder, shot, swords, and tooles, that though we could find the defect, we could not finde by whom, till it was too late. [1609]

All this time [*Feb.–Mar.* 1609] the *Dutch* men remaining with *Powhatan* (who kindly entertained them to instruct the Salvages the vse of our Armes), and their consorts not following them as they expected; to know the cause, they sent *Francis* their companion [*p.* 447, 456], a stout young fellow, disguised like a Salvage, to the Glasse-house, a place in the woods neare a myle from *Iames* Towne; where was their *Randezvous* for all their vnsuspected villany. The *Dutch*-mens plot to murther Captaine *Smith*.

Fortie men they procured to lie in Ambuscado for Captaine *Smith*, who no sooner heard of this *Dutch*-man, but he sent to apprehend him (but he was gone): yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, the Captaine presently dispatched 20. [84] shot after him; himselfe returning from the Glasse-house alone.

By the way he incountred the King of *Paspahegh*, a most strong stout Salvage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his Ambush, seeing him onely armed but with a faucheon, attempted to haue shot him, but the President prevented his shoot by grapling with him, and the Salvage as well prevented him for drawing his faucheon, and perforce bore him into the River to haue drowned him. Long they strugled in the water, till the President got such hold on his throat, he had neare strangled the King; but having drawne his faucheon to cut off his head, seeing how pittifully he begged his life, he led him prisoner to *Iames* Towne, and put him in chaynes. *Smith* taketh the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner. [*p.* 151.]

The *Dutch*-man ere long was also brought in, whose villa[i]ny though all this time it was suspected, yet he fayned such a formall excuse, that for want of language Captaine *Winne* vnderstood him not rightly, and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues they were constrained to accommodate [him with] his armes, of whom he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce, and that he made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but was onely walking in the woods to gather Walnuts.

Yet for all this faire tale, there was so small appearance of truth, and [also] the plaine confession of *Pasbahegh* of

[1609] his trechery, [that] he went by the heeles: *Smith* purposing to regaine the *Dutch*-men, by the saving his [*i.e.*, *Paspahegh*'s] life.

The poore Salvage did his best by his daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the *Dutch*-men would not returne, neither did *Powhatan* stay them; and to bring them fiftie myles [*from Orapaks*] on his mens backes they were not able. Daily this Kings wiues, children, and people came to visit him with presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the King finding his guard negligent, though fettered yet escaped. Captaine *Winne* thinking to pursue him found such troupes of Salvages to hinder his passage, as they exchanged many vollies of shot for flights of Arrowes.

Captaine *Smith* taketh two Salvages prisoners.

Captaine *Smith* hearing of this, in returning to the Fort tooke two Salvages prisoners, called *Kemps* and *Tussore*, the two most exact villaines in all the Country.

With these he sent Captaine *Winne* and fiftie choise men, and Lieutenant *Percie*, to haue regained the King, and revenged this iniury.

And so [he] had done, if they had followed his directions, or beene advised with those two villaines, that would haue betrayed both King and kindred for a peece of Copper: but he trifling away the night, the Salvages the next morning by the rising of the Sunne, braved him to come ashore to [*p.* 152.] fight. A good time both sides let fly at other, but we heard of no hurt; onely they tooke two Canowes, burnt the Kings house, and so returned to *Iames* towne.

The President fearing those Bravado's would but incourage the Salvages, began againe himselfe to try his conclusions; whereby six or seauen were slaine, [and] as many made prisoners. He burnt their houses, tooke their Boats, with all their fishing wires [*weirs*], and planted some of them at *Iames* towne for his owne vse, and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe of all them [that] had iniured him.

But in his iourney passing by *Paspahegh* towards *Chickahamania*, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their Ambuscadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Country, all shewed themselues in their bravest manner.

To try their valours he could not but let fly; and ere he could land, they no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator was a lustie young fellow called *Okaning*, whose worthy discourse deserveth to be remembred. And thus it was: [1609]

The Salvages desire Peace.

Okaning his Oration.

Captaine Smith, *my Master is here present in the company, thinking it Captaine* Winne, *and not you, (of him he intended to haue beene revenged) having never offended him. If he hath offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the foules fly, and the very beasts striue to escape the snare and liue. Then blame not him being a man. He would intreat you remember, you being a prisoner, what paines he tooke to saue your life* [*pp.* 16, 396]. *If since he hath iniured you, he was compelled to it: but howsoeuer, you haue reuenged it with our too great losse. We perceiue and well know you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship; and to enioy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will haue the worse by our absence; for we can plant any where,* [**85**] *though with more labour, and we know you cannot liue if you want our harvest, and that reliefe we bring you. If you promise vs peace, we will beleeue you; if you proceed in revenge, we will abandon the Country.*

Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they should bring in provision. Thus all departed good friends, and so continued till *Smith* left the Countrey [4 *Oct.* 1609]. [*A.* 153.]

Arriving at *Iames* Towne, complaint was made to the President, that the *Chickahamanians*, who all this while continued trade and seemed our friends, by colour thereof were the onely theeues. And amongst other things a Pistoll being stolne and the theefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes, that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates.

Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one was imprisoned, the other was sent to returne the Pistoll againe within twelue houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-coale for a fire.

A Salvage smoothered at *Iames* towne, and recovered.

Ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smoothered with

[1609] the smoake he had made, and so pittiously burnt, that wee found him dead. The other most lamentably beway[l]ed his death, and broke forth into such bitter agonies, that the President to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him aliue againe: but he little thought he could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with *Aqua vitæ* and *Vineger*, it pleased God to restore him againe to life; but so drunke and affrighted, that he seemed Lunaticke: the which as much tormented and grieued the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie vpon promise of their good behaviour, the President promised to recover him: and so caused him to be layd by a fire to sleepe; who in the morning having well slept, had recovered his perfect senses, and then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of Copper giuen them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread among all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that was dead.

Two or three Salvages slaine in drying Powder.

Another ingenuous Salvage of *Powhatans*, having gotten a great bag of Powder, and the backe of an Armour, at *Werowocomoco* amongst a many of his companions, to shew his extraordinary skill, he did dry it on the backe as he had seene the Souldiers at *Iames* Towne. But he dryed it so long, they peeping over it to see his skill, it tooke fire, and blew him to death, and one or two more; and the rest [were] so scorched, they had little pleasure to meddle any more with powder.

These and many other such pretty Accidents, so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan*, and all his people, that [*f.* 154.] from all parts with presents they desired peace; returning many stolne things which we never demanded nor thought of: and after that, those that were taken stealing, both *Powhatan* and his people haue sent them backe to *Iames* towne, to receiue their punishment; and all the Country became absolute[ly] as free for vs, as for themselues.

CHAPTER XI.

What was done in three moneths having Victualls. The Store devoured by Rats, how we liued three moneths of such naturall fruits as the Country affoorded.

NOw we so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths [*Feb.—April* 1609] wee made three or foure Last of Tarre, Pitch, and Sope ashes; produced a tryall of Glasse; made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water, which till then was wanting; built some twentie houses; re-covered our Church: provided Nets and W[e]ires for fishing; and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues, and the Salvages, built a Blockhouse in the neck of our Isle, kept by a Garrison to entertaine [**86**] the Saluages trade, and none to passe nor repasse Saluage nor Christian without the presidents order. Thirtie or forty Acres of ground we digged and planted. Of three sowes in eighteene moneths, increased 60 and od Piggs. And neere 500. chickings brought vp themselues without hauing any meat giuen them: but the Hogs were transported to Hog. Isle: where also we built a block-house with a garison to giue vs notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clapbord and waynscot, and cut downe trees. [1609]

We built also a fort for a retreat neere a conuenient Riuer vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assalted and easie to be defended; but ere it was finished this defect caused a stay.

In searching our casked corne [*April* 1609], we found it halfe rotten, and the rest so consumed with so many thousands of Rats that increased so fast, but the[i]re originall was from the ships, as we knew not how to keepe that little we had. This did driue vs all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Great extremitie by Rats. [*A.* 155.]

Vntill this time *Kemps* and *Tassore* were fettered prisoners, and did double taske and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now for want of victuall we set at liberty, but so well they liked our companies they did not desire to goe from us.

[1609] And to expresse their loues, for 16. dayes continuance, the Countrie people brought vs (when least) 100. a day, of Squirrils, Turkyes, Deere and other wilde beasts.

But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our works, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. 60. or 80. with *Ensigne Laxon* was sent downe the riuer to liue vpon Oysters, and 20. with liutenant *Percy* to try for fishing at *Poynt Comfort*: but in six weekes they would not agree once to cast out the net, he being sicke and burnt sore with Gunpouder. Master *West* with as many went vp to the falls, but nothing could be found but a few Acornes; of that in store euery man had their equall proportion.

Bread made of dried Sturgeon.

Till this present, by the hazard and indeuours of some thirtie or fortie, this whole Colony had ever beene fed. We had more Sturgeon, then could be deuoured by Dog and Man, of which the industrious by drying and pounding, mingled with Caviare, Sorell and other wholesome hearbes would make bread and good meate: others would gather as much *Tockwhogh* roots in a day as would make them bread a weeke, so that of those wilde fruites, and what we caught, we liued very well in regard of such a diet.

The[i]re desire to destroy themselues.

But such was the strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced *nolens, volens*, perforce to gather and prepare their victuall they would all haue starued or haue eaten one another. Of those wild fruits the Salvages often brought vs, and for that the President would not fullfill the vnreasonable desire of those distracted Gluttonous Loyterers, to sell not only our kettells, hows, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, pieces, and the very Ordnance and howses, might they haue prevayled to haue beene but Idle: for those Saluage fruites, they would haue had imparted all to the [*p.* 156.] Saluages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of to be at *Powhatans* [*his house at Orapaks*], fifty myles from our Fort. Though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humors; yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sould their soules, though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thousands were the[i]re exclamations, suggestions and deuises, to force him to those base inventions to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Country.

Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one *Dyer* [*p.* 168] a most

crafty fellow and his ancient Maligner, whom he worthily punished, and with the rest he argued the case in this maner. [1609]

The Presidents order for the drones.

Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many to be so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you, or that Powhatan *at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as now I see a great many; yet it shal not so passionate me, but I will doe my best for my most maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from* Powhatan, *not* [nor] *that I will longer forbeare to force you from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you rayle. But if I finde any more runners for Newfoundland with the Pinnace, let him assuredly looke to ar*[*r*]*iue at the Gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I haue saued yours, when (might your owne wills haue preuailed) you* [87] *would haue starued; and will doe still whether I will or noe; But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selues those fruites the earth doth yeeld, you shall not onely gather for your selues, but those that are sicke. As yet I neuer had more from the store then the worst of you: and all my English extraordinary prouision that I haue, you shall see me diuide it amongst the sick.*

And this Saluage trash you so scornfully repine at; being put in your mouthes your stomackes can disgest: if you would haue better, you should haue brought it; and therefore I will take a course you shall prouide what is to be had. The sick shall not starue, but equally share of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the riuer, and be banished from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions or starue. [*p.* 157.]

But some would say with *Seneca.*

I know those things thou sayst are true good Nurse,
But fury forceth me to follow worse.
My minde is hurried headlong vp and downe:
Desiring better counsell, yet finds none.

But seuen of 200 dyed in nine moneths [*Oct* 1608–10 *July* 1609].

This order many murmured was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well [to] bestirre themselues, that of 200. (except they were drowned) there died not past seuen:

As for Captaine *Winne* and Master *Leigh* they were dead

[1609] ere this want hapned, and the rest dyed not for want of such as preserued the rest.

Many were billetted amongst the Saluages, whereby we knew all their passages, fields and habitations, how to gather and vse the[i]re fruits as well as themselues; for they did know wee had such a commanding power at *Iames* towne they durst not wrong vs of a pin.

The Salvages returne our fugitiues.

So well those poore Salvages vsed vs that were thus billetted, that diuers of the Souldiers ran away to search *Kemps* and *Tassore* our old prisoners. Glad were these Salvages to haue such an oportunity to testifie their loue vnto vs, for in stead of entertaining them, and such things as they had stollen, with all their great Offers, and promises they made them how to reuenge their iniuryes vpon Captaine *Smith*; *Kemps* first made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrie men (by them) how he was vsed, feeding them with this law, who would not work must not eat, till they were neere starued indeede, continually threatning to beate them to death: neither could they get from him, till hee and his consorts brought them perforce to our Captaine, that so well contented him and punished them, as many others that intended also to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, then aduenture to liue idlely amongst the Salvages; (of whom there was more hope to make better Christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both.)

For so affraide was al those kings and the better sort of the people to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that we haue extreamly hurt and punished for the[i]re villanies would hire vs, [that] we should not tell it to their kings, or countrymen; who would also repunish them, and yet returne them to *Iames* towne to content the President, for a testimony of their loues.

[*p.* 158.] Master *Sicklemores* Iourney to *Chawwonoke.*

Master *Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawwonoke*; but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them [that] were left by Sir *Walter Raleigh.* The riuer, he saw was not great, the people few, the countrey most[ly] over growne with pynes, where there did grow here and there straglingly *Pemminaw*, we call silke grasse. But by the riuer the ground was good, and exceeding furtill.

Master *Nathanael powell* and *Anas Todkill* were also by the *Quiyoughquohanocks* conducted to the *Mangoags* to search them there: but nothing could they learne but they were all dead. [1609]

Master *Powels* iorney to the *Mangoags.*

This honest proper good promise-keeping king, of all the rest did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods he was very zealous, yet he would confesse our God as much exceeded his as our Gunns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many presents, to pray to his God for raine or his corne would perish, for his Gods were angry.

Three dayes iorney they conducted [88] them through the woods, into a high country towards the Southwest: where they saw here and there a little corne field, by some little spring or smal brooke, but no riuer they could see: the people in all respects like the rest, except the[i]re language: they liue most[ly] vpon rootes, fruites and wilde beasts; and trade with them towards the sea and the fatter countryes for dryed fish and corne, for [*with*] skins.

All this time to recouer the *Dutch*-men and one *Bentley* another fugitiue, we imployed one *William Volday*, a *Zwitzar* by birth, with Pardons and promises to regaine them. Little we then suspected this double villaine of any villa[i]ny; who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason; for this wicked hypocrite, by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his cursed country men, (hauing this oportunity by his imployment to regaine them) conuayed them euery thing they desired to effect their proiects, to distroy the Colony.

The *Dutch* mens proiects.

With much deuotion they expected the *Spaniard*, to whom they intended good seruice, or any other that would but carry them from vs. But to begin with the first oportunity; they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not onely distroy our Hoggs, fire our towne, and betray our Pinnace; but bring to his seruice and subiection the most of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many Discontents, and many were agreed to their Deuilish practise. But one *Thomas Douse*, and *Thomas Mallard* (whose christian hearts relented at such an vnchristian act) voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine

[1609] *Smith*, who caused them to conceale it, perswading *Douse* and *Mallard* to proceed in their confed[e]racie: onely to bring the irrecla[i]mable *Dutch* men and the inconstant [*p.* 159] Salvages in such a maner amongst such Ambuscado's as he had prepared, that not many of them should returne from our *Peninsula* [*i.e., of James Town*].

But this bru[i]te comming to the eares of the impatient multitude they so importuned the President to cut off those *Dutch* men, as amongst many that offred to cut their throats before the face of *Powhatan*, the first was Two Gentlemen sent to the *Germans.* Lieutenant *Percy*, and Master *Iohn Cuderington*, two Gentlemen of as bold resolute spirits as could possibly be found. But the President had occasion of other imploiment for them, and gaue way to Master *Wyffin* and Sarieant [*p.* 508.] *Ieffrey Abbot*, to goe and stab them or shoot them.

But the *Dutch* men made such excuses, accusing *Volday* whom they supposed had reuealed their proiect, as *Abbot* would not; yet *Wyffing* would, perceiuing it but deceit.

The King vnderstanding of this their imployment, sent presently his messengers to Captaine *Smith* to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command: nor did he nor would he maintaine them or any, to occasion his displeasure.

The first arriuall of Captaine *Argall.* But whilst this businesse was in hand, Arriued [10 *July* 1609, *see p.* xcvi] one Captaine *Argall*, and Master *Thomas Sedan*, sent by Master *Cornelius* to truck with the *Colony*, and fish for Sturgeon, with a ship well furnished with wine and much other good provision. Though it was not sent vs, our necessities was such as inforced vs to take it. He brought vs newes of a great supply and preparation for the Lord *La Warre*, with letters that much taxed our President for his hard dealing with the Salvages, and not returning the shippes fraughted. Notwithstanding we kept this ship till the fleete arriued [11–18 *August* 1609].

True it is *Argall* lost his voyage, but we reuictualled him, and sent him for England, with a true relation of the causes of our defailments, and how imposible it was to returne that wealth they expected, or obserue the[i]re instructions to indure the Salvages insolencies, or doe any thing to any purpose, except they would send vs men and meanes that could produce that they so much desired:

otherwises all they did was lost, and could not but come to confusion. [1609]

The villany of *Volday* we still dissembled. *Adam* vpon his pardon came home, but *Samuell* still stayed with *Powhatan* to heare further of their estates by this supply. Now all their plots *Smith* so well vnderstood, they were his best advantages to secure vs from any trechery, [that] could be done by them or the Salvages: which with facility he could revenge when he would, because all those countreyes more feared him then *Powhatan*, and hee had such parties with all his bordering neighbours: and many of the rest for loue or feare would haue done any thing he would haue them, vpon any commotion, [89] though these fugitiues had done all they could to perswade *Powhatan*, [that] King *Iames* would kill *Smith*, for vsing him and his people so vnkindly.

By this you may see for all those crosses, trecheries, and dissentions, how hee wrestled and overcame (without bloudshed) all that happened: also what good was done; how few dyed; what food the Countrey naturally affoordeth; what small cause there is men should starue, or be murthered by the Salvages, that haue discretion to mannage them with courage and industrie. Note these inconveniences.

The two first yeares, though by his adventures, he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade; yet you see how the envious authoritie ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endevours. But it wrought in him that experience and estimation amongst the Salvages, as otherwise it had bin impossible, he had ever effected that he did.

Notwithstanding the many miserable, yet generous and worthy adventures, he had oft and long endured in the wide world; yet in this case he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience. Which with thus much adoe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but onely learned how to begin. [*p.* 160.]

And though he left those vnknowne difficulties (made easie and familiar) to his vnlawfull successors, (who onely by liuing in *Iames* Towne, presumed to know more then all the world could direct them:) Now though they had all his Souldiers, with a tripple power, and twice tripple better

[1609] meanes; by what they haue done in his absence, the world may see what they would haue done in his presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions: it doth iustly proue, what cause he had to send them for *England* [*pp.* 408, 411, 444]; and that he was neither factious, mutinous, nor dishonest.

But they haue made it more plaine since his returne for *England*; having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunitie that his labours had effected. As I am sorry their actions haue made it so manifest, so I am vnwilling to say what reason doth compell me, but onely to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partiall, reasonlesse, and malicious.

p. 161.]

CHAPTER XII.

The Arrivall of the third Supply.

The alteration of the government.

TO redresse those jarres and ill proceedings, the Treasurer, Councell, and Company of *Virginia*, not finding that returne and profit they expected; and them ingaged there, not having meanes to subsist of themselues; made meanes to his Maiestie, to call in their Commission, and take a new in their owne names, as in their owne publication, 1610. you may reade at large.

Having thus annihilated the old by vertue of a Commission made to the right Honourable, Sir *Thomas West*, Lord *de la Warre*, to be Generall of *Virginia*; Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant; Sir *George Somers*, Admirall; Sir *Thomas Dale*, high Marshall; Sir *Fardinando Wainman*, Generall of the Horse; and so all other offices to many other worthy Gentlemen, for their liues: (though not any of them had ever beene in *Virginia*, except Captaine *Newport*, who was also by Patent made vice-Admirall:) those noble Gentlemen drew in such great summes of money, that they sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Newport* with nine shippes, and fiue hundred people: who [*Gates, Somers, and Newport*] had each of them a Commission, who first arrived to call in the old [Commission], without the knowledge or consent of them that had endured all

those former dangers to beat the path, not any regard [being] had at all of them. [1609]

All things being ready, because those three Captaines oculd not agree for place, it was concluded they should goe all in one ship, so all their three Commissions were in that Ship with them, called the *Sea-Venture*.

They set sayle from *England* in May 1609.

A small Catch perished at Sea in a Hericano: the Admirall [*flag-ship*] with an hundred and fiftie men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bils of Loading, with all manner of directions, and the most part of their provision, arrived not. 1609. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

With the other [**90**] seaven Ships as Captaines arrived *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, whose right name (as is sayd [*p.* 444]) was *Sicklemore*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, with Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Captaine *Moone*, Captaine *King*, Captaine *Davis*, and divers Gentlemen of good meanes, and great parentage. But the first [*i.e.*, *Ratcliffe*, *Martin*, *and Archer*] as they had beene troublesome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore: for though (as is said) they were formerly sent for *England* [*pp.* 105, 107, 408, 411, 444], yet now returning againe, graced by the titles of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strengthened themselues with those new companies, so exclaiming against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him ere ever they saw him. The losse of *Virginia*.

Who vnderstanding by his Scouts [of] the arrivall of such a Fleet, little dreaming of any such supply, supposed them *Spanyards*. But he quickly so determined and ordered our affaires, as we little feared their Arrivall, nor the successe of our incounter; nor were the Salvages any way negligent for the most part, to ayd and assist vs with their best power. [*p.* 162.]

Had it so beene we had beene happy; for we would not haue trusted them but as our foes, where[as] receiuing them as our Countreymen and friends, they did what they could to murther our President, to surprise the Store, the Fort, and our lodgings, to vsurpe the government, and make vs all their servants and slaues, till they could consume vs and our remembrance; and rather indeed to supplant vs then supply vs, as master *William Box* an honest Gentleman in this voyage thus relateth. The Salvages offer to fight vnder our colours. [*p.* 504]

[1609] In the tayle of a *Hericano* wee were separated from the Admirall, which although it was but the remainder of that Storme, there is seldome any such in *England*, or those Northerne parts of *Europe*. Some lost their Masts, some their Sayles blowne from their Yards; the Seas so over-raking our Ships, much of our prouision was spoyled, our Fleet separated, and our men sicke, and many dyed: and in this miserable estate we arrived in *Virginia*.

But in this Storme,

When ratling Thunder ran along the Clouds;
Did not the Saylers poore, and Masters proud
A terror feele as strucke with feare of God?
Did not their trembling ioynts then dread his rod?
Least for foule deeds and black mouth'd blasphemies,
The ru[e]full time be come that vengeance cryes.

Mutinies. To a thousand mischiefes those lewd Captaines [*Ratcliffe &c.*] led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly Gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another; to day the old Commission must rule, to morrow the new, the next day neither; in fine they would rule all, or ruine all: yet in charitie we must endure them thus to destroy vs; or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds censure vpon vs to be guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and as we were left to our fortunes: for on earth, for the number, was never more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned.

The President seeing the desire those Braues had to rule; seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all, and haue returned for *England*. But seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arriue, longer he would not suffer those factious spirits to proceede.

It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible; should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily escaped amongst this factious crew; the chiefe whereof he quickly layd by the heeles, till his leasure

better served to doe them iustice: and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master *Percie* had his request granted to returne for *England*, being very sicke; and Master *West* with an hundred and twentie of the best he could chuse, he sent to the Falles; *Martin* with neare as many to *Nandsamund*, with their due proportions of all provisions according to th[e]ir numbers. [91] [1609]

The planting [of] *Nandsamund*.

Now the Presidents yeare being neare expired, he made Captaine *Martin* President, to follow the order for the election of a President every yeare: but he knowing his owne insufficiency, and the companies vntowardnesse and little regard of him within three houres after resigned, it againe to Captaine *Smith*; and at *Nandsamund* thus proceeded. [p. 163.]

The people being contributers vsed him kindly; yet such was his iealous feare, in the midst of their mirth, he did surprise this poore naked King, with his Monuments, houses, and the Isle he inhabited, and there fortified himselfe; but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldened the Salvages to assault him, kill his men, release their King, gather and carry away a thousand bushels of Corne, he not once offering to intercept them; but sent to the President, then at the Falles, for thirtie good shot; which from *Iames* Towne immediately was sent him. But he so well imployed them they did iust nothing, but returned complaining of his tendernesse: yet he came away with them to *Iames* Towne, leauing his company to their fortunes.

The breach of peace with the Salvages.

Here I cannot omit the courage of *George Forrest*, that had seauenteene Arrowes sticking in him, and one shot through him, yet liued sixe or seauen dayes, as if he had small hurt; then for want of Chirurgery dyed.

Master *West* having seated his men by the Falles, presently returned to reuisit *Iames* Towne: the President followed him to see that company seated; met him by the way, wondering at his so quicke returne; and found his company planted so inconsiderately, in a place not onely subiect to the rivers invndation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconueniences.

For remedie whereof he presently sent to *Powhatan* to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*. And these should be his Conditions

Powhatan bought for Copper.

[1609] [He] (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and houses, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper; that all stealing offenders should be sent him, there to receiue their punishment; that every house as a Custome should pay him a Bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of *Pocones*, as a yearely tribute to King *Iames* for their protection, as a dutie; what else they could spare to barter at their best discretions.

Mutinies. But both this excellent place and those good Conditions did those furies refuse; contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie. So much they depended on the Lord Generals new Commission, as they regarded none: the worst they could doe to shew their spights they did; supposing all the *Monacans* Country, gold; and none should come there but whom they pleased. I doe more then wonder to thinke how onely with fiue men, he either durst or would adventure as he did, (knowing how greedie [*p.* 164.] they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit to imprisonment all the Chieftaines of those mutinies, till by their multitudes being an hundred and twentie they forced him to retyre: yet in that interim he surprised one of their Boates, wherewith he returned to their ship, where in deed was their prouision; which also he tooke, and well it chanced he found the Marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie he had ever escaped.

Fiue suppresse an hundred and twentie.

There were divers other of better reason and experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Captaine *Moone*, Captaine *Fitz Iames*, Master *William Powell*, Master *Partridge*, Master *White*, and divers others, when they perceiued the malice of *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* and *Archer*, and their faction, left their companies, and ever rested his faithfull friends.

Breach of peace with the Salvages at the Falles. But the worst was that the poore Salvages, that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complained to Captaine *Smith*, he had brought

them for Protectors, worse enemies then the *Monacans* themselues: which though till then, for his loue they had endured, they desired pardon if hereafter they defended themselues; since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So [92] much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanors, as they offered (if he would leade them) to fight for him against them. [1609]

But having spent nine dayes [*Aug.–Sept.* 1609] in seeking to reclaime them; shewing them how much they did abuse themselues with these great guilded hopes of the South Sea Mines, commodities, or victories, they so madly conceived; then seeing nothing would prevaile, he set sayle for *Iames* Towne.

Thus oft we see from small greene wounds, and from a little griefe,
A greater sore and sicknesse growes, then will admit reliefe:
For thus themselues they did beguile, and with the rest play'd theefe.

An assalt by the Salvages

Now no sooner was the Ship vnder sayle, but the Salvages assaulted those hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some stragling abroad in the woods: they slew many, and so affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they safely retyred, with the swords and cloakes of those they had slaine. [*p.* 165.]

But ere wee had sayled halfe a league, our ship grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parley; where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore silly assault of twelue Saluages, that they submitted themselues vpon any tearmes to the Presidents mercy; who presently put by the heeles sixe or seauen of the chiefe offenders.

The rest he seated gallantly at *Powhatan*, in that Salvage Fort, readie built, and prettily fortified with poles and barkes of trees, sufficient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in *Virginia*, dry houses for lodgings, and neere two hundred acres of ground ready to be planted, and no place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in *Virginia* for which we called it *Non-such*.

The plant-ing of *Non-such*.

The Salvages also hee presently appeased, redeliuering to either party their former losses.

The Salvages appeased.

[1609] Thus all were friends. New officers appointed to command, and the President againe ready to depart.

At that instant arriued Captaine *West*, whose gentle nature, by the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners (alledging they had onely done this for his honor) was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboyles did arise. For they a-shore being possessed of all the[i]re victuall, munition, and euery thing, grew to that height in their former factions, as the President left them to their fortunes: they returned againe to the open ayre at *Wests* Fort, abandoning *Non-such*, and he to *Iames* towne with his best expedition.

Captaine *Smith* blowne vp with powder.

But this hapned him in that Iourney. Sleeping in his Boate, (for the ship was returned two daies before) accidentallie, one fired his powder-bag, which tore the flesh from his body and thighes, nine or ten inches square in a most pittifull manner; but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths he leaped over-board into the deepe river, where ere they could recouer him he was neere drowned. In this estate without either Chirurgian, or Chirurgery he was to goe [*by water*] neere an hundred myles.

Arriving at *Iames* towne, causing all things to be prepared for peace or warres [and] to obtaine provision.

[*f.* 166.] Whilest those things were providing, *Rat[c]liffe, Archer*, and the rest of their Confederates, being to come to their trials; their guiltie consciences fearing a iust reward for their deserts, seeing the President vnable to stand, and neere bereft of his senses by reason of his torment, they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that should haue giuen fire to that mercilesse Pistoll.

A bloudy intent.

So not finding that course to be the best, they ioyned together to vsurpe the government, thereby to escape their punishment.

The President had notice of their proiects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but permit them to take their heads that would resist his command, yet he would not suffer them; but sent for the Masters of the ships, and tooke order with them for his returne for England.

The causes why *Smith* left the Countrey and his Commission

Seeing there was neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ship to depart the next

day [*about* 13 *Sept.* 1609, *see p.* 486], his Commission to be suppressed he knew not why, himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded he knew not how, and a [**93**] new commission granted they knew not to whom (the which disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies as they did :) besides so grievous were his wounds, and so cruell his torments (few expecting he could liue) nor was hee able to follow his busines to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the countries for provision as he intended ; and well he knew in those affaires his owne actions and presence was as requisit as his directions, which now could not be : he went presently abroad, resoluing there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutine[e]rs ; but he could finde none hee thought fit for it, would accept it. In the meane time, seeing him gone, they perswaded Master *Percy* to stay, who was then to goe for England, and be their President. [1609]

Within lesse then an houre was this mutation begun and concluded.

For when the Company vnderstood *Smith* would leaue them, and saw the rest in Armes called Presidents and Councellors, divers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him [to] resigne them his Commission : who after much adoe and many bitter repulses ; [*p.* 167.] that their confusion (which he tould them was at their elbowes) should not be attributed to him, for leauing the Colony without a Commission, he was not vnwilling they should steale it, but never would he giue it to such as they.

And thus, *Strange violent forces drew vs on vnwilling :*
Reason perswading 'gainst our loues rebelling.
We saw and knew the better, ah curse accurst !
That notwithstanding we imbrace the worst.

But had that vnhappie blast not hapned, he would quickly haue qualified the heate of those humors and factions, had the ships but once left them and vs to our fortunes ; and haue made that provision from among the Salvages, as we neither feared *Spanyard*, Salvage, nor famine ; nor would haue left *Virginia*, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and payd for it.

What shall I say, but thus we left [*lost*] him, that in

[1609] all his proceedings, made Iustice his first guide, and experience his second, even hating basenesse, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that neuer allowed more for himselfe, then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see vs want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loued action more then words, and hated falshood and covetousnesse worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deaths.

Leaving vs thus with three ships, seaven boats, commodities readie to trade, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and od persons, twentie-foure Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets Snaphances and Firelockes; Shot Powder and Match sufficient; Curats Pikes Swords and Morrio[n]s, more then men; the Salvages, their language, and habitations well knowne to an hundred well trayned and expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing; Tooles of all sorts to worke; apparell to supply our wants; six Mares and a Horse; fiue or sixe hundred Swine; as many Hennes and Chickens; some Goats; some sheepe. What was brought or bred there, remained.

But they, regarding nothing but from hand to mouth, did consume that wee had, tooke care for nothing but to perfect some colourable complaints against Captaine *Smith.* For effecting whereof three weekes longer [*i.e.*, *from about* 13 *Sept. to* 4 *Oct.* 1609, *see p.*xcviii] they stayed the Ships, till they [*p.* 168.] could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beene spent, but it su[i]ted well with the rest of their discretions.

Besides *Iames* towne that was strongly Pallizadoed, containing some fiftie or sixtie houses, he left fiue or sixe other severall Forts and Plantations: though they were not so sumptuous as our successors expected, they were better then they provided any for vs. All this time we had but one Carpenter in the Countrey, and three others [**94**] that could doe little, but desired to be learners; two Blacksmiths; two saylers; and those we write labourers were for most part footmen, and such as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they

could perswade to goe with them, that neuer did know what a dayes worke was: except the *Dutch*-men and *Poles*, and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore Gentlemen, Trad[e]smen, Serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Common-wealth, then either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one. For when neither the feare of God, nor the law, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends could rule them here [*in England*], there is small hope ever to bring one in twentie of them ever to be good there [*in Virginia*]. Notwithstanding, I confesse divers amongst them, had better mindes and grew much more industrious then was expected: yet ten good workemen would haue done more substantiall worke in a day, then ten of them in a weeke. Therefore men may rather wonder how we could doe so much, then vse vs so badly because we did no more, but leaue those examples to make others beware; and the fruits of all, we know not for whom. [1609] [*pp.* 616,930.]

The ends of the *Dutch*-men.

But to see the justice of God vpon these *Dutch*-men; *Valdo* before spoke of, made a shift to get for *England*; where perswading the Merchants what rich Mines he had found, and great service he would doe them, was very well rewarded, and returned with the Lord *La Warre* [*June* 1610]: but being found a meere Impostor, he dyed most miserably. *Adam* and *Francis* his two consorts were fled againe [*in the winter* 1609–10] to *Powhatan*, to whom they promised at the arrivall of my Lord [*June* 1610], what wonders they would doe, would he suffer them but to goe to him. But the King seeing they would be gone, replyed; You that would haue betrayed Captaine *Smith* to mee, will certainely betray me to this great Lord for your peace: so caused his men to beat out their braines.

To conclude, the greatest honour that ever belonged to the greatest Monarkes, was the inlarging their Dominions, and erecting Common-weales. Yet howsoever any of them haue attributed to themselues, the Conquerors of the world: there is more of the world never heard of them, then ever any of them all had in subiection: for the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Assyrians*, never Conquered all *Asia*; nor the *Grecians* but part of *Europe* and *Asia*. The *Romans* indeed had a great part of both, as well as *Affrica*: but as for all

[1609] the Northerne parts of *Europe* and *Asia*, the interior Southern and Westerne parts of *Affrica*, all *America* and *Terra incognita*, they were all ignorant: nor is our knowledge yet but superficiall. That their beginnings, ending, and limitations were proportioned by the Almightie is most evident: but to consider of what small meanes many of them haue begun is wonderfull. For some write that even *Rome* her selfe, during the Raigne of *Romulus*, exceeded not the number of a thousand houses. And *Carthage* grew so great a Potentate, that at first was but incirculed in the thongs of a Bulls skinne, as to fight with *Rome* for the Empire of the world. Yea *Venice* at this time the admiration of the earth, was at first but a Marish, inhabited by poore Fishermen. And likewise *Ninivie*, *Thebes*, *Babylon*, *Delus*, *Troy*, *Athens*, *Mycena* and *Sparta*, grew from small beginnings to be most famous States, though now they retaine little more then a naked name. Now this our yong Common-wealth in *Virginia*, as you haue read once consisted but of 38 persons [*p.* 402], and in two yeares increased but to 200. yet by this small meanes so highly was approved the Plantation in *Virginia*, as how many Lords, with worthy Knights, and braue Gentlemen pretended [*intended*] to see it, and some did; and now after the expence of fifteene yeares more [1609–1624], and such massie summes of men and money, grow they disanimated? If we truely consider our Proceedings with the *Spanyards*, and the rest, we haue no reason to despayre, for with so small charge, they never had either greater Discoveries, with such certaine tryals of more severall Commodities, then in this short time hath beene returned from *Virginia*, and by much lesse meanes. *New England* was brought out of obscuritie, and affoorded fraught for neare 200 sayle of ships, where there is now erected a braue Plantation [*the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth*]. For the happines of *Summer Isles*, they are no lesse then either, and yet those haue had a far lesse, and a more difficult beginning, then either *Rome*, *Carthage*, or *Venice*.

[*pp.* 240–242, 256–259.]

[*p.* 749.]

Written by *Richard Pots*, Clarke of the Councell,
William Tankard, and *G. P.* [95]

[*The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles.*
The two intercalated pages, **95** and **96.**

A reprint of Complimentary Verses.]

[It will be convenient here to deal with the bibliographical myth, that *Sig.* O, *being* pages **97** *to* **104**, *was suppressed in all copies.*

SMITH, in his *Prospectus* of 1623, *p.* cxxvi, estimated the matter of the *General History*, as "composed in [*i.e., written to fill*] less than eighty sheets," which, at four pages to the folio, or eight pages to the signature, equals 320 *pp.* The actual printed text occupies 12 unnumbered, and **240** pages, wrongly numbered after *p.* **96**; or 252 printed *pp.* in all: that is, nearly a fourth less than the original estimate.

The explanation of this is very simple, and is due to the acuteness of H. STEVENS, Esq., F.S.A.

The manuscript had passed the licenser by the 12 July 1624 (as the entry at Stationers' Hall, *p.* 274, proves); and it being desired to print it with all possible speed, it was given out to two out of the twenty to twenty-five printing houses then existing in London: the "copy" being roughly divided between them. This is confirmed by the variation of the initial letters, and of the style of the headings, on and after *p.* **105** of the original edition, from those before that page.

If the matter fell short for the latter part of the book, that would make no difference; but if it fell short in the earlier part, there would be a hiatus: and a hiatus there was, of 10 folio pages. Two of these, the Author filled up with this reprint of Complimentary Verses from the *Description of New England*, presumably, by then, out of print, beginning with the words on the opposite page.

"Now seeing there is thus much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed upon *New England*, I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reiect, nor omit their courtesies."

The remaining two sheets or eight pages, which should have made Sig. O, he left simply a gap, without any explanation at all.

That the *General History* was pushed through the press with all possible speed, is hard to prove now: but it seems to be confirmed by the above; and it is manifest from the *Preface of foure Poynts* at *p.* 278, that the *History* was written to sustain the public interest in the Colonizing movement, after the disgraceful collapse of the London Virginia Company and while its legal dissolution was in progress.

"The which losse [*of the Massacre on 22 March* 1622] to repaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke [*capital*] as is said; then they broke [*became bankrupt*], not making any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any; whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businesse to a few that lost not by it. So that his Maiesty recalled their Commission [*June* 1624]." *p.* 931.

In the original edition of 1624, the Fourth Book has, by an error of the second printer, not got *Lib.* 4 in the headline. We have inserted it in the present edition, for the sake of uniformity.]

Now seeing there is thus much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed vpon New England, *I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reiect, nor omit their courtesies.*

In the deserued Honour of the Author, [A. 181.] Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

[1616]

Damn'd Envie *is a sp'rite, that ever haunts*
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or Ignorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deare WORTH
(Maugre her malice) sets their glory forth.
If this faire Overture, then, take not; It
Is Envie's *spight (deare friend) in men of wit;*
Or Feare, *lest morsels, which our mouths possesse,*
Might fall from thence; or else, tis Sottishnesse.
If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;
*Thy *Letters are as Letters in thy praise;*
Who, by their vice, improue *(when they* reprooue*)*
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.
Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any Smith to forge *such fame.*

* Hinderers

Iohn Davies, *Heref:*

[*f.* 181.]

To his worthy Captaine the Author.

[1616]

That which wee call the subiect of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight
Of Envie; *which doth no mans Merits right.*
My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this; I'aue said enough before.

Your sometime Souldier, *I. Codrinton,* now Templer.

[*f.* 182.]

To my Worthy Friend and Cosen, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

IT over-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words
Of these designes, with deeds I doe compare.
Here is a Booke, such worthy truth affords,
None should the due desert thereof impare:
Sith thou, the man, deserving of these Ages,
Much paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdomes good,
In Climes vnknowne, 'Mongst Turks *and Salvages,*
T'inlarge our bounds; though with thy losse of blood.
Hence damn'd Detraction: stand not in our way.
Envie, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay.

N. Smith.

In the deserved Honour of my honest and worthy Captaine, *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

[p. 184.]

[1616]

Captaine and friend; when I pervse thy Booke
(*With* Iudgements *eyes*) *into my* heart *I looke:*
And there I finde (*what sometimes* Albion *knew*)
A Souldier, *to his* Countries-honour, *true.*
Some fight for wealth; *and some for* emptie praise;
But thou alone thy Countries Fame *to raise.* [96]
With due discretion, *and* vnda[u]nted heart,
I (*oft*) *so well haue seene thee act thy Part*
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie.
Though men of greater Ranke *and lesse* desert
Would Pish *away thy* Praise, *it can not start*
From the true Owner: *for, all good mens tongues*
Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
If, then, Wit, Courage, *and* Successe *should get*
Thee Fame; *the Muse for* that *is in thy* debt:
A part whereof (*least able though I be*)
Thus here I doe disburse, to honor Thee.

Raleigh Crashaw.

Michael Phettiplace, Wil: Phettiplace, and *Richard Wiffing*, Gentlemen, and Souldiers vnder Captaine *Smiths* command: In his deserved honour for his Worke, and Worth.

[p. 185.]

Why may not wee in this Worke haue our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and night,
When thou Virginia *foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind;*
And held'st the King of Paspeheh *enchaind.*

[1616] *Thou all alone this* Salvage *sterne didst take.*
Pamavnkees *King wee saw thee captiue make*
Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,
To murther thee and vs resolved; when
Fast by the hayre thou ledst this Salvage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to governe him:
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(*Sith their drad Soveraigne thou had'st so distrest*)
That thou and wee (*poore sixteene*) *safe retir'd*
Vnto our helplesse Ships. *Thou* (*thus admir'd*)
Didst make proud Powhatan, *his subiects send*
To Iames *his Towne, thy censure to attend:*
And all Virginia's *Lords, and pettie Kings,*
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings
To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene:
And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene;
So, making Valour Vertue, really;
Who hast nought in thee counterfeit, or slie;
If in the sleight be not the truest Art,
That makes men famoused for faire desert.
Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie,
Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true Storie.
If it be ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
But, if the first be well done; it is well,
To say it doth (*if so it doth*) *excell.*
Praise is the guerdon of each deare desert
Making the praised act the praised part
With more alacritie: Honours *Spurre is* Praise;
Without which, it (*regardlesse*) *soone decaies.*
And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather,
That future Times may know who was the father
Of that rare Worke (New England) *which may bring,*
Praise to thy God, *and profit to thy* King. [**105**]

THE FOURTH BOOK.

1624.

The History of Virginia.

1609–1624.]

[This History of Virginia from the departure of Captain SMITH from James town, on 4 October 1609, to the dissolution of the London Virginia Company, in June 1624; is in nothing like the detail of the previous part of this Volume. It should be supplemented by a study of the Works specified on *p.* cxxxiii.]



The Fovrth Booke.

TO MAKE PLAINE THE TRVE PROCEEDINGS OF THE HISTORIE

for 1609. we must follow the examinations of Doctor *Simons*, and two learned Orations published by the Companie; with the relation of the Right Honourable the Lord *De la Ware*.

What happened in the first gouernment after the alteration, in the time of Captaine George Piercie *their Gouernour.*

THE day before [3 *Oct.* 1609] Captaine *Smith* returned [4 *Oct.* 1609, *see pp.* 167, 170] for *England* with the ships, Captaine *Dauis* arriued in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more: To these were added a company from *Iames* towne, vnder the command of Captaine *Iohn Sickelmore* alias *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, to inhabit *Point Comfort*. Captaine *Martin* and Captaine *West*, hauing lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Saluages, were returned to *Iames* towne; for the Saluages no sooner vnderstood *Smith* was gone, but they all reuolted, and did spoile and murther all they incountered. [1609] [*p.* 170.] The planting *Point Comfort.* 1609

[1609] Now wee were all constrained to liue onely on that *Smith* had onely for his owne Companie, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master *Piercie*, our new President, was so sicke hee could neither goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Captaine *West* and Captaine *Sickelmore*, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. *Sickelmore* vpon the confidence of *Powhatan*, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe; were all slaine; onely *Ieffrey Shortridge* escaped; and *Pokahontas* the Kings daughter saued a boy called *Henry Spilman* [*pp.* 172, 503, 528, 586, 606], that liued many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the *Patawomekes*.

[*pp.* 445, 508.]

Powhatan still, as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade: so that Captaine *West* set saile for *England*.

Now we all found the losse of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne prouision and contribution from the Saluages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what liued, our commanders, officers and Saluages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was deuoured; then swords, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Saluages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Gouernours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of fiue hundred within six moneths after Captaine *Smiths* departure [*Oct.* 1609—*Mar.* 1610], there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserued for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had startch in these extremities, made no small vse of it; yea, euen the very skinnes of our horses.

Nay, so great was our famine, that a Saluage we slew and buried, the poorer sort tooke him vp againe and eat him; and so did diuers [**106**] one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest

did kill his wife, powdered [*salted*] her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne; for which hee was executed, as hee well deserued: now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not; but of such a dish as powdered wife I neuer heard of. [1609-10]

This was that time, which still to this day [1624] we called the staruing time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleeued, what we endured: but the occasion was our owne, for want of prouidence industrie and gouernment, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrie, as is generally supposed; for till then in three yeeres, for the numbers were landed vs, we had neuer from *England* prouision sufficient for six moneths, though it seemed by the bils of loading sufficient was sent vs, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners; we as little tasted of the great proportion sent vs, as they of our want and miseries, yet notwithstanding they euer ouerswayed and ruled the businesse, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly liued on what this good Countrie naturally afforded. Yet had wee beene euen in Paradice it selfe with these Gouernours, it would not haue beene much better withe vs; yet there was amongst vs, who had they had the gouernment as Captaine *Smith* appointed, but that they could not maintaine it, would surely haue kept vs from those extremities of miseries. This in ten daies more, would haue supplanted vs all with death. [The Starving Time.]

But God that would not this Countrie should be vnplanted, sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Sommers* with one hundred and fiftie people most happily preserued by the *Bermudas* to preserue vs [21 *May* 1610]: strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserued in a leaking ship, as at large you may reade in the insuing Historie of those Ilands [*p.* 635]. [*p.* 171.] The arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates.*

1610.

The gouernment resigned to Sir Thomas Gates, 1610.

[1610] WHen these two Noble Knights did see our miseries, being but strangers in that Countrie, and could vnderstand no more of the cause, but by coniecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing and excusing one another: They embarked vs with themselues, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning *Iames* towne [7 *June* 1610], set saile for *England*: whereby you may see the euent of the gouernment of the former Commanders [*Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer*] left to themselues; although they had liued there many yeeres, as formerly hath beene spoken (who hindred now their proceedings, Captaine *Smith* being gone).

Iames towne abandoned.

At noone they fell to the Ile of *Hogs*, and the next morning [8 *June*] to *Mulbery point*, at what time they descried the Long-boat of the Lord *la Ware*; for God would not haue it so abandoned. For this honourable Lord, then Gouernour of the Countrie, met them with three ships exceedingly well furnished with all necessaries fitting; who againe returned them to the abandoned *Iames* towne.

Out of the obseruations of William Simmons *Doctor of Diuinitie.*

The gouernment devolued to the Lord la Ware.

The arriuall of the Lord *la Ware*.

[*p.* 171.]

HIs Lordship arriued the ninth of Iune 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, Captaine *Houlcroft*, Captaine *Lawson*, and diuers other Gentlemen of sort; the tenth he came vp with his fleet, went on shore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entred into consultation for the good of the Colonie: in which secret counsell we will a little leaue them, that we may duly obserue the reuealed counsell of God.

Hee that shall but turne vp his eie, and behold the

spangled canopie of heauen, or shall but cast downe his eie, [1610]
and consider the embroydered carpet of the earth, and withall shall marke how the heauens heare the earth, and the earth the Corne and Oile, and they relieue the necessities of man, that man will acknowledge Gods infinite [**107**] prouidence. But hee that shall further obserue, how God inclineth all casuall euents to worke the necessary helpe of his Saints, must needs adore the Lords infinite goodnesse.

Neuer had any people more iust cause, to cast themselues at the very foot-stoole of God, and to reuerence his mercie, than this distressed Colonie; for if God had not sent Sir *Thomas Gates* from the *Bermudas*, within foure daies they had almost beene famished; if God had not directed the heart of that noble Knight to saue the Fort from fiering at their shipping [*embarkation*], for many were very importunate to haue burnt it, they had beene destitute of a present harbour and succour: if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not so soone returned, questionlesse the Indians would haue destroied the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our safeties amongst them and a terror. If they had set saile sooner, and had lanched into the vast Ocean; who would haue promised they should haue incountered the Fleet of the Lord *la Ware*: especially when they made for *Newfound land*, as they intended; a course contrarie to our Nauie approaching. If the Lord *la Ware* had not brought with him a yeeres prouision, what comfort would those poore soules haue receiued, to haue beene relanded to a second distruction? This was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would haue his people passe the red Sea and Wildernesse, and then to possesse the land of *Canaan:* It was diuinely spoken of Heathen *Socrates*, If God for man be carefull, why should man bee ouer-distrustfull? for he hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the Elements,

That neither cold things want heat, nor moist things dry,
Nor sad things spirits, to quicken them thereby,
Yet make they music all content of contrarietie,
Which conquer'd, knits them in such links together,
They doe produce euen all this whatsoeuer.

The Lord Gouernour, after mature deliberation, deliuered

[1610] some few words to the Companie, laying iust blame vpon them, for their haughtie vanities and sluggish idlenesse, earnestly intreating them to amend those desperate follies lest hee should be compelled to draw the sword of Iustice and to cut off such delinquents, which he had rather draw to the shedding of his vitall bloud, to protect them from iniuries; heartning them with relation of that store hee had brought with him, constituting officers of all conditions, to rule ouer them, allotting euery man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and worke painfully.

This Oration and direction being receiued with a generall applause, you might shortly behold the idle and restie diseases of a diuided multitude, by the vnitie and authoritie of this gouernment to be substantially cured. Those that knew not the way to goodnesse before, but cherished singularitie and faction, can now chalke out the path of all respectiue dutie and seruice: euery man endeuoureth to outstrip other in diligence: the *French* preparing to plant the Vines, the *English* labouring in the Woods and grounds; euery man knoweth his charge, and dischargeth the same with alacritie.

Neither let any man be discouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the sap of their bodies should bee spent for other mens profit) the sętled times of working, to effect all themselues, or as the Aduenturers need desire, required no more paines than from six of the clocke in the morning, vntill ten, and from two in the afternoone, till foure; at both which times they arè prouided of spirituall and corporall reliefe. First, they enter into the Church, and make their praiers vnto God; next they returne to their houses and receiue their proportion of food. Nor should it bee conceiued that this businesse excludeth Gentlemen, whose breeding neuer knew what a daies labour meant: for though they cannot digge, vse the Spade, nor practice the Axe, yet may the staied spirits of any condition, finde how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of counsell, the operation and power of their best breeding and qualities.

[Divine Service at 10 *a.m.* and 4 *p.m.*]

[*p.* 957.]

[*p.* 957.] The houses which are built, are as warme and defensiue against wind and [**108**] weather, as if they were tiled and slated, being couered aboue with strong boards, and some

matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now such as are able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Saluages: Our Forts assure the Inhabitants, and frustrate all assaylants. [1610]

And to leaue no discouragement in the heart of any, who personally shall enter into this great action, I [*i.e.*, *W. Box*] will communicate a double comfort; first, Sir *George Sommers*, that worthy Admirall hath vndertaken a dangerous aduenture for the good of the Colonie. Sir *George Sommers* returne to the *Bermudas*.

Vpon the 15. [*or* 19, *p.* 639] of Iune [1610], accompanied with Captaine *Samuel Argall*, hee returned in two Pinaces vnto the *Bermudas*, promising (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rocks) that he would soone returne with six moneths prouision of flesh; with much crosse weather at last hee there safely arriued, but Captaine *Argall* was forced backe againe to *Iames* towne: whom the Lord *De la Ware* not long after sent to the Riuer of *Patawomeke*, to trade for Corne; where finding [*in Sept.* 1610] an *English* boy, one *Henry Spilman* [*pp.* 172, 498, 528, 586, 606], a young Gentleman well descended, by those people preserued from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance had such good vsage of those kinde Saluages, that they fraughted his ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to *Iames* towne. [*p.* 172.]

The other comfort is, that the Lord *la Ware* hath built two new Forts, the one called Fort *Henry*, the other Fort *Charles*, in honour of our most noble Prince, and his hopefull brother, vpon a pleasant plaine, and neare a little Riuilet they call *Southampton* Riuer; they stand in a wholsome aire, hauing plentie of Springs of sweet water, they command a great circuit of ground, containing Wood, Pasture and Marsh, with apt places for Vines, Corne and Gardens; in which Forts it is resolued, that all those that come out of *England*, shall be at their first landing quartered, that the wearisomnesse of the Sea may bee refreshed in this pleasing part of the Countrie. The building Fort *Henry* and Fort *Charles*.

And Sir *Thomas Gates* hee sent for *England* [15 *July* 1610].

But to correct some iniuries of the *Paspahegs*, he sent Captaine *Pearcie*, Master *Stacy*, and fiftie or threescore shot: where the Saluages flying, they burnt their houses, tooke the Queene and her children prisoners, whom not long after they slew.

The fertilitie of the soile, the temperature of the climate,

[1611] the forme of gouernment, the condition of our people, their daily inuocating of the Name of God being thus expressed; why should the successe, by the rules of mortall iudgement, bee disparaged? why should not the rich haruest of our hopes be seasonably expected? I dare say, that the resolution of *Cæsar* in *France*, the designes of *Alexander*, the discoueries of *Hernando Cortes* in the West, and of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* in the East, were not encouraged vpon so firme grounds of state and possibilitie.

But his Lordship being at the fal[l]es, the Saluages assaulted his troopes and slew three or foure of his men.

Not long after, his Honour growing very sicke, he returned for *England* the 28. of March [1611]; in the ship were about fiue and fiftie men, but ere we arriued at *Fyall*, fortie of vs were neare sicke to death, of the Scuruie, Callenture, and other diseases: the Gouernour, being an *English-man*, kindly vsed vs, but small reliefe we could get but Oranges, of which we had plenty; whereby within eight daies wee recouered, and all were well and strong by that they came into *England*.

Written by William Box.

The Counsell of *Virginia* finding the smalnesse of that returne which they hoped should haue defrayed the charge of a new supply, entred into a deep consultation, whether it were fit to enter into a new Contribution, or in time to send for them home and giue ouer the action, and therefore they adiured Sir *Thomas Gates* to deale plainly with them, who with a solemne and a sacred oath replyed,

That all things before reported were true: and that all men know that wee stand at the deuotion of politicke Princes and States, who for their proper vtilitie, deuise all courses to grind our Merchants, and by all pretences to confiscate their goods, and to draw from vs all manner of gaine by their inquisitiue inuentions; when in *Virginia*, a few yeeres labour by planting and husbandry, will furnish all [**109**] our defects with honour and securitie.

Out of a Declaration published by the Counsell, 1610.

The gouernment left againe to Captaine George Piercie, *and the returne of the Lord* la Ware, *with his Relation to the Councell.*

1611.

[1611]

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

The Relation of the Lord *la Ware.*

MY Lords, now by accident returned from my charge at *Virginia*, contrary either to my owne desire, or other mens expectations, who spare not to censure me, in point of dutie, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne; I am forced out of a willingnesse to satisfie euery man, to deliuer vnto your Lordships and the rest of this assemblie, in what state I haue liued euer since my arriuall to the Colonie, what hath beene the iust cause of my sudden departure, and on what tearmes I haue left the same: the rather because I perceiue, that since my comming into *England*, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred in many of the Aduenturers, that some of them seeke to withdraw their payments, by which the action must be supported, making this my returne colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and vniust protraction: which that you may the better vnderstand, I was welcomed to *Iames* towne by a violent ague; being cured of it, within three weekes after I began to be distempered with other grieuous sicknesses which successiuely and seuerally assailed me, for besides a relapse into the former disease, which with much more violence held me more than a moneth, and brought me to greater weaknesse; the flux surprised mee, and kept me many daies; then the crampe assaulted my weake body with strong paines; and after, the gout: all those drew me to that weaknesse, being vnable to stirre, [that] brought vpon me the scuruie; which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was it in me an effect of weaknesse, which neuer left me, till I was ready to leave the world.

In these extremities I resolued to consult with my

[1611] friends, who finding nature spent in me, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily increasing, gaue me aduice to preferre a hopefull recouerie before an assured ruine; which must necessarily haue ensued, had I liued but twentie daies longer in *Virginia*, wanting at that instant both food and Physicke fit to remedie such extraordinary diseases: wherefore I shipped [28 *Mar.* 1611] my selfe with Doctor *Bohun* and Captaine *Argall* for *Meuis* in the West *Indies*. But being crossed with Southerly winds, I was forced to shape my course for the Westerne Iles [*Azores*], where I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by the meanes of fresh dyet, especially Oranges and Limons, an vndoubted remedie for that disease: then I intended to haue returned backe againe to *Virginia*, but I was aduised not to hazard my selfe, before I had perfectly recouered my strength: so I came for *England*. In which accident, I doubt not but men of iudgement will imagine, there would more preiudice haue happened by my death there, than I hope can doe by my returne.

For the Colony, I left it to the charge of Captaine *George Piercie*, a Gentleman of honour and resolution, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Dale*, whose Commission was likewise to bee determined vpon the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates*, according to the order your Lordships appointed: the number I left were about two hundred, the most in health, and prouided of at least ten moneths victuall, and the Countrie people tractable and friendly.

What other defects they had, I found by Sir *Thomas Gates*, at the Cowes, his Fleet was sufficiently furnished with supplies: but when it shall please God that Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Thomas Gates* shall arriue in *Virginia* with the extraordinarie supply of 100. Kine, and 200. Swine, besides store of other prouision, for the maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that successe in the action, as shall giue no man cause of distrust, that hath already aduentured, but incourage euery good minde to further so good a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our [**110**] nation, and the comfort of all those that haue beene instruments in the furthering of it.

100. Kine and 200. Swine sent to *Virginia*.

Out of the Lord la Wares *discourse, published by Authoritie*, 1611.



The gouernment surrendred to Sir Thomas Dale, *who arriued in* Virginia *the tenth of May*, 1611. *out of Master* Hamors *Booke.*

1611.

[1611]

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

The arriuall of Sir *Thomas Dale.*

BEfore the Lord *la Ware* arriued in *England*, the Councell and Companie had dispatched away Sir *Thomas Dale* with three ships, men, and cattell, and all other prouisions necessarie for a yeere; all which arriued well the tenth of May 1611: where he found them growing againe to their former estate of penurie, being so improuident as not to put Corne in the ground for their bread; but trusted to the store, then furnished but with three moneths prouision. His first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne, at the two Forts at *Kecoughtan*, *Henry* and *Charles*; whereby, the season then not [being] fully past, though about the end of May, wee had an indifferent crop of good Corne.

His preparation to build a new towne.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his vnder-Officers, to *Iames* towne he hastened, where most of the companie were at their daily and vsuall works, bowling in the streets: these hee imployed about necessarie workes, as felling of Timber, repayring their houses ready to fall on their heads, and prouiding pales, posts and railes, to impale his purposed new towne, which by reason of his ignorance, being but newly arriued, hee had not resolued where to seat. Therefore to better his knowledge, with one hundred men he spent some time in viewing the Riuer

[1611] of *Nansamund*, in despight of the *Indians* then our enemies; then our owne Riuer to the Fal[l]es, where vpon a high land, inuironed with the maine Riuer, some twelue miles from the Fal[l]es, by *Arsahattock*, he resolued to plant his new towne.

It was no small trouble to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition, as may well witnesse his seueritie and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all extremitie to be executed; now much mitigated: so as if his Lawes had not beene so strictly executed, I see not how the vtter subuersion of the Colonie should haue beene preuented, witnesse *Webbes* and *Prices* designe the first yeere, since that of *Abbots* and others, more dangerous than the former.

Here I entreat your patience for an Apologie, though not a pardon. This *Ieffrey Abbots*, how euer this Author censures him, and the Gouernour executes him; I know he had long serued both in *Ireland* and *Netherlands*. Here hee was a Sargeant of my Companie, and I neuer saw in *Virginia* a more sufficient Souldier, lesse turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or industrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that sought to abandon the Countrie, or wrong the Colonie; how ingratefully those deserts might bee rewarded, enuied or neglected, or his farre inferiors preferred to ouer-top him, I know not: but such occasions might moue a Saint, much more a man, to an vnaduised passionate impatience, but how euer, it seemes he hath beene punished for his offences, that was neuer rewarded for his deserts.

[*pp.* 108, 131, 159, 411, 448, 476.

Diuers mutinie[s] suppressed.

And euen this Summer *Cole* and *Kitchins* plot with three more, bending their course to *Ocanahowan*, fiue daies iourney from vs, where they report are *Spaniards* inhabiting. These were cut off by the Saluages, hired by vs to hunt them home to receiue their deserts.

So as Sir *Thomas Dale* hath not beene so tyrannous nor seuere by the halfe, as there was occasion, and iust cause for it; and though the manner was not vsuall, wee were rather to haue regard to those, whom we would haue terrified and made fearefull to commit the like offences, than to the offenders iustly condemned: for amongst them so hardned in

euill, the feare of a cruell painfull and vnusuall death more restraines them, than death it selfe. This much I haue proceeded of his endeuours, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Gates*, in preparing himselfe to proceed as he intended. [**111**] [1611]

Now in *England* againe, to second this noble Knight, the Counsell and Companie with all possible expedition prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates* six tall ships, with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine and other Cattell, with munition and all other manner of prouision that could be thought needfull; and about the first or second of August, 1611. [they] arriued safely at *Iames* towne.

The gouernment returned againe to Sir Thomas Gates, 1611.

The second arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates.*

THese worthy Knights being met, after their welcoming salutations, Sir *Thomas Dale* acquainted him what he had done, and what he intended: which designe Sir *Thomas Gates* well approuing, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of.

In the beginning of September, 1611. hee set saile, and arriued where hee intended to build his new towne: within ten or twelue daies he had inuironed it with a pale, and in honour of our noble Prince *Henry*, called it *Henrico*. The next worke he did, was building at each corner of the Towne a high commanding Watch-house, a Church, and Store-houses: which finished, hee began to thinke vpon conuenient houses for himselfe and men, which, with all possible speed hee could, he effected, to the great content of his companie, and all the Colonie.

The building of *Henrico.*

This towne is situated vpon a necke of a plaine rising land, three parts inuironed with the maine Riuer, the necke of land well impaled, makes it like an Ile; it hath three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church, and the foundation of a better laid (to bee built of Bricke), besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like. Vpon the verge of the Riuer there are fiue houses, wherein liue the honester sort of people, as Farmers in *England*, and they keepe continuall centinell for the townes securitie.

[1611] About two miles from the towne, into the Maine, is another pale, neere two miles in length, from Riuer to Riuer, guarded with seuerall Commanders, with a good quantitie of Corne-ground impailed, sufficiently secured to maintaine more than I suppose will come this three yeeres.

On the other side of the Riuer, for the securitie of the towne, is intended to be impaled for the securitie of our Hogs, about two miles and a halfe, by the name of *Hope in Faith*, and *Coxendale*, secured by fiue of our manner of Forts, which are but Palisadoes, called *Charitie* Fort, *Mount Malado* (a guest house [*hospital*] for sicke people) a high seat and wholsome aire, *Elisabeth* Fort, and Fort *Patience*: And here hath Master *Whitaker* chosen his Parsonage, impaled a faire framed Parsonage, and one hundred acres called *Rocke hall*, but these are not halfe finished.

The building the *Bermudas*. About Christmas following, in this same yeere 1611. in regard of the iniurie done vs by them of *Apamatuck*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, without the losse of any, except some few Saluages, tooke it and their Corne, being but fiue miles by land from *Henrico*: and considering how commodious it might be for vs, resolued to possesse and plant it, and at the instant called it the new *Bermudas*; whereunto hee hath laid out and annexed to the belonging freedome and corporation for euer, many miles of Champian and Woodland ground in seuerall hundreds, as the vpper and nether hundreds, *Rochdale* hundred, West *Sherly* hundred, and *Digs* his hundred.

In the nether hundred he first began to plant, for there is the most Corne-ground, and with a pale of two miles, cut ouer from Riuer to Riuer, whereby we haue secured eight *English* miles in compasse: vpon which circuit, within halfe a mile of each other, are many faire houses already built; besides particular mens houses neere to the number of fiftie. *Rochdale*, by a crosse pale welnigh foure miles long, is also planted with houses along the pale, in which hundred our Hogs and Cattell haue twentie miles circuit to graze in securely. The building of the Citie is referred till our haruest [1612] be in, which he intends to make a retreat against any forraigne enemie.

About fiftie miles from these is *Iames* towne, vpon a fertill *peninsula*, which although [112] formerly scandaled

for an vnhealthfull aire, wee finde it as healthfull as any other part of the Countrie; it hath two rowes of houses of framed timber, and some of them two stories and a garret higher, three large Store-houses ioined together in length, and hee hath newly strongly impaled the towne. This Ile, and much ground about it, is much inhabited. [1611-12]

To *Kecoughtan* we accounted it fortie miles, where they liue well with halfe that allowance the rest haue from the store, because of the extraordinarie quantitie of Fish, Fowle and Deere; as you may reade at large in the Discoueries of Captaine *Smith*. And thus I haue truly related vnto you the present estate of that small part of *Virginia* wee frequent and possesse.

Since there was a ship fraughted with prouision, and fortie men; and another since then with the like number and prouision, to stay twelue moneths in the Countrie, with Captaine *Argall*, which was sent not long after. After hee had recreated and refreshed his Companie, hee was sent to the Riuer *Patawomeake*, to trade for Corne: the Saluages about vs hauing small quarter, but friends and foes as they found aduantage and opportunitie. 1612. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer. Captaine *Argals* arriuall.

But to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine *Argall*, hauing entred into a great acquaintance with *Iapazaws*, an old friend of Captaine *Smiths*, and so to all our Nation, euer since hee discouered the Countrie: h[e]ard by him there was *Pocahontas*, whom Captaine *Smiths* Relations intituleth the Numparell of *Virginia* [*pp.* 38, 169], and though she had beene many times a preseruer of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident shee was neuer seene at *Iames* towne since his departure [4 *Oct.* 1609].

Being at *Patawomeke*, as it seemes, thinking her selfe vnknowne, was easily by her friend *Iapazaws* perswaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to see the ship: for Captaine *Argall* had promised him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace with her father; the Saluage for this Copper Kettle would haue done any thing, it seemed by the Relation.

For though she had seene and beene in many ships, yet hee caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, that hee offered to beat her for her importunitie, till How *Pocahontas* was taken prisoner.

[1613] she wept. But at last he told her, if *Pocahontas* would goe with her, hee was content: and thus they betraied the poore innocent *Pocahontas* aboord, where they were all kindly feasted in the Cabbin. *Iapazaws* treading oft on the Captaines foot, to remember he had done his part; the Captaine when he saw his time, perswaded *Pocahontas* to the Gun-roome, faining to haue some conference with *Iapazaws*, which was onely that she should not perceiue hee was any way guiltie of her captiuitie: so sending for her againe, hee told her before her friends, she must goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and vs, before she euer should see *Powhatan*; whereat the old Iew and his wife began to howle and crie as fast as *Pocahontas*, that vpon the Captaines faire perswasions, by degrees pacifying her selfe, and *Iapazaws* and his wife, with the Kettle and other toies, went merrily on shore; and shee to *Iames* towne.

[By *Argal*'s letter of June 1613 (in *Purchas* iv., 1764, *Ed.* 1625), it would appear that *Pocahontas* was captured in the beginning of April 1613.]

A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter *Pocahontas* he loued so dearely, he must ransome with our men, swords, peeces, tooles, &c. hee trecherously had stolne.

This vnwelcome newes much troubled *Powhatan*, because hee loued both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three moneths after [*July* 1613] ere hee returned vs any answer: then by the perswasion of the Councell, he returned seuen of our men, with each of them an vnseruiceable Musket, and sent vs word, that when wee would deliuer his daughter, hee would make vs satisfaction for all iniuries done vs, and giue vs fiue hundred bushels of Corne, and for euer be friends with vs.

Seuen *English* returned from *Powhatan* prisoners.

That he sent, we receiued in part of payment, and returned him this answer: That his daughter should be well vsed; but we could not beleeue the rest of our armes were either lost or stolne from him, and therefore till hee sent them, we would keepe his daughter.

Sir *Thomas Dale* his voyage to *Pamaunke.*

This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for we heard no more from him for a [113] long time after: when with Captaine *Argals* ship, and some other vessels belonging to the Colonie; Sir *Thomas Dale*, with a hundred and fiftie men well appointed, went vp into his owne Riuer, to his chiefe habitation, with his daughter.

With many scornfull brauado's they affronted vs, proudly demanding Why wee came thither; our reply was, Wee had brought his daughter, and to receiue the ransome for her that was promised, or to haue it perforce. [1613]

They nothing dismayed thereat, told vs, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were prouided for vs: but aduised vs, if wee loued our liues to retire; else they would vse vs as they had done Captaine *Ratcliffe:* We told them, Wee would presently haue a better answer; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let flie their Arrowes among vs in the ship. [*f.* ciii.]

Being thus iustly prouoked, wee presently manned our Boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could finde; and so the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, where they demanded Why wee burnt their houses, and wee, Why they shot at vs: They replyed, it was some stragling Saluage, with many other excuses, they intended no hurt, but were our friends: We told them, Wee came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also. A man shot in the forehead.

Vpon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they dispatched messengers to *Powhatan*; whose answer, they told vs, wee must expect foure and twentie houres ere the messengers could returne: Then they told vs, our men were runne away for feare we would hang them, yet *Powhatans* men were runne after them; as for our Swords and Peeces, they should be brought vs the next day, which was only but to delay time; for the next day they came not.

Then we went higher, to a house of *Powhatans*, called *Matchot*, where we saw about foure hundred men well appointed; here they dared vs to come on shore, which wee did; no shew of feare they made at all, nor offered to resist our landing, but walking boldly vp and downe amongst vs, demanded to conferre with our Captaine, of his comming in that manner, and to haue truce till they could but once more send to their King to know his pleasure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with vs, and defend their owne as they could. Which was but onely to deferre the time, to carrie away their prouision; yet wee pro-

[1613-14] mised them truce till the next day at noone, and then if they would fight with vs, they should know when we would begin by our Drums and Trumpets.

Two of *Powhatans* sonnes come to see *Pocahontas.*

Vpon this promise, two of *Powhatans* sonnes came vnto vs to see their sister: at whose sight, seeing her well, though they heard to the contrarie, they much reioiced, promising they would perswade her father to redeeme her, and for euer be friends with vs. And vpon this, the two brethren went aboord with vs; and we sent Master *Iohn Rolfe* and Master *Sparkes* to *Powhatan*, to acquaint him with the businesse: kindly they were entertained, but not admitted [to] the presence of *Powhatan*, but they spoke with *Opechancanough*, his brother and successor; hee promised to doe the best he could to *Powhatan*, all might be well.

So it being Aprill [1613], and time to prepare our ground and set our Corne, we returned to *Iames* Towne, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next haruest.

The mariage of *Pocahontas* to Master *Iohn Rolfe.*

1613. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Long before this, Master *Iohn Rolfe*, an honest Gentleman, and of good behauiour, had beene in loue with *Pocahontas*, and she with him: which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir *Thomas Dale* by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his aduice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir *Thomas Dale* well approued: the bru[i]te of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of *Powhatan*, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent *Opachisco*, an old Vncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the mariage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill [1614]. And euer since wee haue had friendly trade and commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himselfe, as all his subiects. [114]

The *Chicahamanias* desire friendship.

Besides this, by the meanes of *Powhatan*, we became in league with our next neighbours, the *Chicahamanias*, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselues. These people, so soone as they heard of or peace with *Powhatan*, sent two messengers with presents to Sir *Thomas*

Dale, and offered them his [*him their*] seruice, excusing all former iniuries, hereafter they would euer be King *Iames* his subiects, and relinquish the name of *Chickahamania*, to be called *Tassautessus*, as they call vs; and Sir *Thomas Dale* the[i]re Gouernour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be gouerned by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to visit them. [1614]

When the appointed day came, Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* with fiftie men well appointed, went to *Chickahamania*, where wee found the people expecting our comming; they vsed vs kindly, and the next morning sate in counsell, to conclude their peace vpon these conditions:

Articles of Peace.

First, they should for euer bee called Englishmen, *and bee true subiects to King* Iames *and his Deputies.*

Secondly, neither to kill nor detaine any of our men, nor cattell, but bring them home.

Thirdly, to bee alwaies ready to furnish vs with three hundred men, against the Spaniards or any.

Fourthly, they shall not enter our townes, but send word they are new Englishmen.

Fiftly, that euery fighting man, at the beginning of haruest, shall bring to our store two bushels of Corne, for tribute, for which they shall receiue so many Hatchets.

Lastly, the eight chiefe men should see all this performed, or receiue the punishment themselues: for their diligence they should haue a red coat, a copper chaine, and King Iames *his picture, and be accounted his Noblemen.*

All this they concluded with a generall assent, and a great shout to confirme it: then one of the old men began an Oration, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them vnderstand how strictly they were to obserue these conditions, and we would defend them from the furie of *Powhatan*, or any enemie whatsoeuer, and furnish them with Copper, Beads, and Hatchets: but all this was rather for feare *Powhatan* and we, being so linked together, would bring them againe to his subiection; the which to preuent, they did rather chuse to be protected by vs, than tormented by him, whom they held a Tyrant.

And thus wee returned againe to *Iames* towne.

[1613-14] When our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured iointly together, glad was he could slip from his labour, or slumber ouer his taske he cared not how, nay, the most honest among them would hardly take so much true paines in a weeke, as now for themselues they will doe in a day: neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoeuer the haruest prospered, the generall store must maintaine them, so that wee reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie, as now three or foure doe prouide for themselues.

The benefit of libertie in the planters.

To preuent which, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath allotted euery man three Acres of cleare ground, in the nature of Farmes, except the *Bermudas* [*p.* 510]: who are exempted, but for one moneths seruice in the yeere, which must neither bee in seed-time, nor haruest; for which doing, no other dutie they pay yeerely to the store, but two barrels and a halfe of Corne.

From all those Farmers (whereof the first was *William Spence*, an honest, valiant, and an industrious man, and hath continued from 1607. to this present [1614]) from those is expected such a contribution to the store, as wee shall neither want for our selues, nor to entertaine our supplies; for the rest, they are to worke eleuen moneths for the store, and hath one moneth onely allowed them to get prouision to keepe them for twelue, except two bushels of Corne they haue out of the store. If those can liue so, why should any feare staruing; and it were much better to denie them passage that would not, ere they come, bee content to ingage themselues to those conditions: for onely from the slothfull and idle [**115**] drones, and none else, hath sprung the manifold imputations, *Virginia* innocently hath vndergone; and therefore I would deter such from comming here, that cannot well brooke labour, except they will vndergoe much punishment and penurie, if they escape the skuruie: but for the industrious, there is reward sufficient, and if any thinke there is nothing but bread, I referre you to his [*Smith's*] relations that discouered the Countrie first.

Ensigne *Spence* the first Farmer in *Virginia*.

The gouernment left to Sir Thomas Dale, *vpon Sir* Thomas Gates *returne for* England.

SIr *Thomas Dale* vnderstanding there was a plantation of *Frenchmen* in the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of 45. sent Captaine *Argall* to Port *Royall* and *Sancta Crux*; where finding the *Frenchmen* abroad dispersed in the Woods, [he] surprized their Ship and Pinnace, which was but newly come from *France*, wherein was much good apparel and other prouision, which he brought to *Iames* towne: but the men escaped, and liued among the Saluages of those Countries. [1614] Captaine *Argals* voyage to Port *Royall*.

It pleased Sir *Thomas Dale*, before my returne to *England*, because I would be able to speake somewhat of my owne knowledge, to giue mee leaue to visit *Powhatan* and his Court: being prouided, I had *Thomas Saluage* with mee, for my Interpreter; with him and two Saluages for guides, I went from the *Bermuda* [*p.* 510] in the morning, and came to *Matchot* the next night, where the King lay vpon the Riuer of *Pamavnke*. His entertainment was strange to me, the boy he knew well, and told him; My child, I gaue you leaue [*pp.* cii–ciii, 27, 31, 37, 102], being my boy, to goe see your friends, and these foure yeeres [1610–1614] I haue not seene you, nor heard of my owne man *Namoutack* I sent to *England* [*pp.* 31, 102, 124; *he had been murdered by another Indian at the Bermuda Islands in* 1610, *see p.* 638], though many ships since haue beene returned thence. 1614. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Hauing done with him, hee began with mee, and demanded for the chaine of pearle he sent his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* at his first arriuall, which was a token betwixt them, when euer hee should send a messenger from himselfe to him, he should weare that chaine about his necke, since the peace was concluded, otherwaies he was to binde him and send him home.

It is true Sir *Thomas Dale* had sent him such word, and gaue his Page order to giue it me, but he forgot it, and till this present I neuer heard of it, yet I replyed Master *Hamars* iourney to *Powhatan*.

I did know there was such an order, but that was when vpon a sudden he should haue occasion to send

[1614] an *Englishman* without an *Indian* Guide; but if his owne people should conduct his messenger, as two of his did me who knew my message, it was sufficient; with which answer he was contented, and so conducted vs to his house, where was a guard of two hundred Bow-men that alwaies attend his person.

The first thing he did, he offered me a pipe of Tobacco, then asked mee how his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* did, and his daughter, and vnknowne sonne, and how they liued, loued and liked; I told him his brother was well, and his daughter so contented, she would not liue againe with him; whereat he laughed, and demanded the cause of my comming: I told him my message was priuate, and I was to deliuer it onely to himselfe and *Papaschicher*, one of my guides that was acquainted with it; instantly he commanded all out of the house, but onely his two Queenes, that alwaies sit by him, and bade me speake on.

His message to *Powhatan.*

I told him, by my Interpreter, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath sent you two pieces of Copper, fiue strings of white and blue Beads, fiue woodden Combes, ten Fish-hookes, a paire of Kniues, and that when you would send for it, hee would giue you a Grind-stone; all this pleased him: but then I told him his brother *Dale*, hearing of the fame of his youngest daughter, desiring in any case he would send her by me vnto him, in testimonie of his loue, as well for that he intended to marry her, as the desire her sister had to see her, because being now one people, and hee desirous for euer to dwell in his Countrie, he conceiued there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of an vnited vnion. [**116**]

I needed not entreat his answer by his oft interrupting mee in my speech, and presently with much grauitie he thus replyed.

Powhatans answer.

I gladly accept your salute of loue and peace, which while I liue, I shall exactly keepe; his pledges thereof I receiue with no lesse thanks, although they are not so ample as formerly he had receiued: but for my daughter, I haue sold her within this few daies to a great Werowance, for two bushels of Rawrenoke, three daies iournie from me.

I replyed, I knew his greatnesse in restoring the Rawrenoke, might call her againe to gratifie his brother, and the rather, because she was but twelue yeeres old, assuring him, besides the band of peace, hee should haue for her, three times the worth of the Rawrenoke, in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c. [1614]

His answer was, he loued his daughter as his life, and though hee had many children, hee delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he should not often behold, he could not possibly liue, which she liuing with vs he could not do, hauing resolued vpon no termes to put himselfe into our hands, or come amongst vs; therefore desired me to vrge him no further, but returne his brother this answer: That I desire no former assurance of his friendship than the promise hee hath made, from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she liues shall be sufficient, when she dies, he shall haue another: I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereaue me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him though he had no pledge at all, hee need not distrust any iniurie from me or my people; there haue beene too many of his men and mine slaine, and by my occasion there shall neuer be more, (I which haue power to performe it, haue said it) although I should haue iust cause, for I am now old, and would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me iniurie, my countrie is large enough to goe from you: Thus much I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because you are wearie, and I sleepie, wee will thus end.

So commanding vs victuall and lodging, we rested that night, and the next morning he came to visit vs, and kindly conducted vs to the best cheere hee had.

William Parker.

William Parker recouered.

WHile I here remained, by chance came an *Englishman*, whom there had beene surprized three yeeres agoe [1611] at Fort *Henry*, growne so like, both in complexion and habit like a Saluage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: hee desired mee to procure his libertie, which I intended, and so farre vrged

[1614] *Powhatan*, that he grew discontented, and told mee, You haue one of my daughters, and I am content: but you cannot see one of your men with mee, but you must haue him away, or breake friendship; if you must needs haue him, you shall goe home without guides, and if any euill befall you, thanke your selues.

I told him I would, but if I returned not well, hee must expect a reuenge; and his brother might haue iust cause to suspect him.

So in passion he left me till supper, and then gaue me such as hee had with a cheerefull countenance:

About midnight he awaked vs, and promised in the morning my returne with *Parker*; but I must remember his brother to send him ten great pieces of Copper, a Shauing-knife, a Frowe, a Grind-stone, a Net, Fish-hookes, and such toies; which lest I should forget, he caused me [to] write in a table-booke he had; how euer he got it, it was a faire one, I desired hee would giue it me; he told me, no, it did him much good in shewing to strangers, yet in the morning when we departed, hauing furnished vs well with prouision, he gaue each of vs a Bucks skin as well dressed as could be, and sent two more to his sonne and daughter:

And so we returned to *Iames* towne.

Written by Master Ralph Hamor *and* Iohn Rolph.

From a letter of Sir *Thomas Dale* and Master *Whitakers.*

I Haue read the substance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir *Thomas Dale*, another by Master *Whitaker*, and a third by Master *Iohn Rolfe*; how carefull they were to instruct her in Christianity, and how capable and desirous shee was thereof, after she had beene some time thus tutored, shee neuer had desire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the society of her owne nation: the true affection she constantly bare her husband was much, and the strange apparitions and violent passions he endured for her loue, as he deeply protested, was wonderful [**117**], and she openly renounced her countries idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized.

But either the coldnesse of the aduenturers, or the bad vsage of that was collected, or both, caused this worthy Knight [*Sir Thomas Dale*] to write thus.

Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselues, and thereby intermedling herein, haue caused a number of soules transport themselues, and be transported hither? Why should they, I say, relinquish this so glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to perseuere; if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant; howsoeuer they stand affected, here is enough to content them. These are the things [which] haue animated me to stay a little season from them, I am bound in conscience to returne vnto; leauing all contenting pleasures and mundall delights, to reside here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than see Gods glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore soules I haue in charge reuiued, which would quickly happen if I should leaue them; so few I haue with me fit to command or manage the businesse: [1614]

Master *Whitaker* their Preacher complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English Ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hether, where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keepe themselues at home, for feare of losing a few pleasures; be there not any among them of *Moses* his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ, but I refer them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to his talent.

From Virginia, Iune 18. 1614.

The businesse being brought to this perfection, Captaine *Argall* returned for *England*, in the latter end of *Iune*, 1614. ariuing in *England*, and bringing this good tidings to the Councell and company by the assistances of Sir *Thomas Gates*, that also had returned from *Virginia* but the March before [1614]; it was presently concluded, that to supply this good successe with all expedition, the standing Lottery should be drawne with all diligent conueniency, and that posterity may remember vpon occasion to vse the like according to the declaration, I thinke it not amisse to remember thus much.

1615.

The Contents of the declaration of the Lottery published by the Counsell.

[1616] Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer. [Feb. 1616.]

IT is apparent to the world, by how many former Proclamations, we manifested our intents, to haue drawn out the great standing Lottery long before this, which not falling out as we desired, and others expected whose monies are aduentured therein, we thought good therefore for the auoiding all vniust and sinister constructions, to resolue the doubts of all indifferent minded, in three speciall points for their better satisfaction.

But ere I goe any farther, let vs remember there was a running Lottery vsed a long time in Saint *Pauls* Churchyard, where this stood, that brought into the Treasury good summes of mony dayly, though the Lot was but small.

Now for the points, the first is, for as much as the Aduenturers came in so slackly for the yeere past, without preiudice to the generality; in losing the blankes and prises, we were forced to petition to the honourable Lords, who out of their noble care to further this Plantation, haue recommended their Letsenters to the Countries, Cities, and good townes in *England*, which we hope by [ad]ding in their voluntary Aduenturers, will sufficiently supply vs.

The second for satisfaction to all honest well affected minds, is, that though this expectation answer not our hopes, yet wee haue not failed in our Christian care, the

good of that Colony, to whom we haue lately sent two sundry supplies, and were they but now supplied with more hands, wee should soone resolue the diuision of the Country by Lot, and so lessen the generall charge. [1616]

The third is our constant resolution, that seeing our credits are so farre ingaged [**118**] to the honourable Lords and the whole State, for the drawing this great Lottery, which we intend shall be without delay, the 26. of Iune next [1616], desiring all such as haue vndertaken with bookes to solicit their friends, that they will not with-hold their monies till the last moneth be expired, lest we be vnwillingly forced to proportion a lesse value and number of our Blankes and Prises which hereafter followeth. [*p.* CXXV.]

Welcomes.

	Crownes.
TO him that first shall be drawne out with a blanke,	100
To the second,	50
To the third,	25
To him that euery day during the drawing of this Lottery, shall bee first drawne out with a blanke,	10

Prizes.

	Crownes.
1 Great Prize of	4500
2 Great Prizes, each of	2000
4 Great Prizes, each of	1000
6 Great Prizes, each of	500
10 Prizes, each of	300
20 Prizes, each of	200
100 Prizes, each of	100
200 Prizes, each of	50
400 Prizes, each of	20
1000 Prizes, each of	10
1000 Prizes, each of	8
1000 Prizes, each of	6
4000 Prizes, each of	4
1000 Prizes, each of	3
1000 Prizes, each of	2

Rewards.

Crownes.

[1616] TO him that shall be last drawne out with a blanke, 25
To him that putteth in the greatest Lot, vnder one name, 400
To him that putteth in the second greatest number, 300
To him that putteth in the third greatest number, 200
To him that putteth in the fourth greatest number, 100

If diuers be of equall number, their rewards are to be diuided proportionally.

Addition of new Rewards.

Crownes.

THe blanke that shall bee drawne out next before the great Prize shall haue 25
The blanke that shall be drawne out next after the said great Prize 25
The blancks that shall be drawne out immediatly before the two next great Prizes, shall haue each of them 20
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue 20
The seuerall blankes next before the foure great Prizes [*of* 1000 *crowns each*], each shall haue 15
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue 15
The seuerall blankes next before the six great Prizes [*of* 500 *crowns each*], each shall haue 10
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue 10 [**119**]

The prizes, welcomes, and rewards, shall be payed in ready Mony, Plate, or other goods reasonably rated; if any dislike of the plate or goods, he shall haue mony, abating only the tenth part, except in small prizes of ten Crownes or vnder.

The mony for the Aduenturers is to be paied to Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knight, and Treasurer for *Virginia*, or

such Officers as he shall apoint in City or Country, vnder the common seale of the company for the receit thereof. [1616]

All prizes, welcomes and rewards drawne where euer they dwell, shall of the Treasurer haue present pay, and whosoeuer vnder one name or poesie payeth three pound in ready money, shall receiue six shillings and eight pence, or a siluer spoone of that value at his choice.

A Spanish Ship in *Virginia.*

About this time it chanced a Spanish ship, beat too and againe before point *Comfort*, and at last sent a shore their boat, as desirous of a Pilot. Captaine *Iames Dauis* the gouernor, immediatly gaue them one: but he was no sooner in the boat, but a way they went with him, leauing three of their companions behind them; this sudden accident occasioned some distrust, and a strict examination of those three thus left, yet with as good vsage as our estate could afford them. They only confessed, hauing lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts; and two of them were Captaines, and in chiefe authority in the fleet: thus they liued till one of them was found to be an Englishman, and had been the Spaniards Pilot for *England* in [15]88. and hauing here induced some male-contents, to beleeue his proiects, to run away with a small barke, which was [*who were*] apprehended, some executed, and he expecting but the Hangmans curtesie, directly confessed that two or three Spanish ships was at Sea, purposely to discouer the estate of the Colony: but their Commission was not to be opened till they arriued in the Bay, so that of any thing more he was vtterly ignorant.

One of the Spaniards at last dyed; the other was sent for *England*, but this reprieued, till Sir *Thomas Dale* hanged him at Sea in his voyage homeward: the English Pilot they carried for Spaine, whom after a long time imprisonment, with much su[i]te was returned for *England*.

1616. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Whilst those things were effecting, Sir *Thomas Dale*, hauing setled to his thinking all things in good order, made choice of one Master *George Yearly*, to be Deputy-Gouernour in his absence, and so returned for *England*; accompanied with *Pocahontas* the Kings Daughter, and Master *Rolfe* her husband: and arriued at *Plimmoth* the 12. of *Iune*. 1616. [*pp.* 529, 533.]

The gouernment left to Captaine Yearly.

[1616] A degression.

NOw a little to commentary vpon all these proceedings, let me leaue but this as a caueat by the way; if the alteration of gouernment hath subuerted great Empires, how dangerous is it then in the infancy of a common-weale? The multiplicity of Gouernors is a great damage to any State; but vncertaine daily changes are burdensome, because their entertainments are chargeable, and many will make hay whilst the sunne doth shine, how euer it shall faire with the generality.

This deare bought Land with so much bloud and cost, hath onely made some few rich, and all the rest losers. But it was intended at the first, the first vndertakers should be first preferred and rewarded, and the first aduenturers satisfied, and they of all the rest are the most neglected; and those that neuer aduentured a groat, neuer see the Country, nor euer did any seruice for it, imploied in their places, adorned with their deserts, and inriched with their ruines: and when they are fed fat, then in commeth others so leane as they were, who through their omnipotency doth as much. Thus what one Officer doth, another vndoth, only ayming at their owne ends; thinking all the world derides his dignity, [who] cannot fill his Coffers being in authority with any thing. Euery man hath his minde free, but he can neuer be a true member to that estate, that to enrich himselfe beggers

[120] all the Countrie. Which bad course, there are many yet in this noble plantation, whose true honour and worth as much scornes it, as the others loues it; for the Nobilitie and Gentrie, there is scarce any of them expects any thing but the prosperitie of the action: and there are some Merchants and others, I am confidently perswaded, doe take more care and paines, nay, and at their continuall great charge, than they could be hired to for the loue of money; so honestly regarding the generall good of this great worke, they would hold it worse than sacrilege, to wrong it but a shilling, or extort vpon the common souldier a penny. [1616]

But to the purpose, and to follow the Historie.

The gouernment of Captaine *Yearley.*

Master *George Yearly* now inuested Deputie Gouernour by Sir *Thomas Dale*, applied himselfe for the most part in planting Tobacco, as the most present commoditie they could deuise for a present gaine, so that euery man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose: now though Sir *Thomas Dale* had caused such an abundance of corne to be planted, that euery man had sufficient, yet the supplies were sent vs, came so vnfurnished, as quickly eased vs of our superfluitie.

To relieue their necessities, he sent to the *Chickahamanias* for the tribute Corne Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* had conditioned for with them: But such a bad answer they returned him, that hee drew together one hundred of his best shot, with whom he went to *Chickahamania*; the people in some places vsed him indifferently, but in most places with much scorne and contempt, telling him he was but Sir *Thomas Dales* man, and they had payed his Master according to condition, but to giue any to him they had no such order, neither would they obey him as they had done his Master; after he had told them his authoritie, and that he had the same power to enforce them that *Dale* had, they dared him to come on shore to fight, presuming more of his not daring, than their owne valours.

Yearly seeing their insolencies, made no great difficultie to goe on shore at *Ozinies*, and they as little to incounter him: but marching from thence towards *Mamanahunt*, they put themselues in the same order they

[1616] see vs, lead by their Captaine *Kissanacomen*, Gouernour of *Ozinies*, and so marched close along by vs, each as threatning other who should first begin. But that night we quartered against *Mamanahunt*, and they passed the Riuer.

The next day we followed them; there are few places in *Virginia* had then more plaine ground together, nor more plentie of Corne, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not finde it: a good time we spent thus in arguing the cause, the Saluages without feare standing in troupes amongst vs, seeming as if their countenances had beene sufficient to da[u]nt vs: what other practises they had I know not; but to preuent the worst, our Captaine caused vs all to make ready, and vpon the word, to let flie among them, where he appointed: others also he commanded to seize on them they could for prisoners; all which being done according to our direction, the Captaine gaue the word, and wee presently discharged, where twelue lay, some dead, the rest for life sprawling on the ground, twelue more we tooke prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight Elders, the one tooke by Sergeant *Boothe*, the other by *Robert* a *Polonian*.

Twelue Saluages slaine, twelue prisoners taken, and peace concluded.

Neere one hundred bushels of Corne we had for their ransomes, which was promised the Souldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now *Opechankanough* had agreed with our Captaine for the subiecting of those people, that neither hee nor *Powhatan* could euer bring to their obedience; and that he should make no peace with them without his aduice: in our returne by *Ozinies* with our prisoners wee met *Opechankanough*, who with much adoe, fained with what paines hee had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of *Ozinies*, and brought him from all parts many presents of Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had.

Here as at many other times wee were beholding to Captaine *Henry Spilman* our Interpreter, a Gentleman [that] had liued long time in this Countrie, and sometimes a prisoner among the Saluages [*pp.* ci–cxiv, 172, 498, 503, 586, 606]; and done much good seruice, though but badly rewarded.

From hence we marcht towards *Iames* towne, we had three [**121**] Boats loaded with Corne and other luggage; the one of

them being more willing to be at *Iames* towne with the newes than the other, was ouerset, and eleuen men cast away with the Boat, Corne and all their prouision. Notwithstanding this put all the rest of the Saluages in that feare, especially in regard of the great league we had with *Opechankanough*, that we followed our labours quietly, and in such securitie that diuers saluages of other Nations, daily frequented vs with what prouisions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and oft hunt for vs themselues. Captaine *Yearly* had a Saluage or two so well trained vp to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the *English*, and one hee kept purposely to kill him fowle. There were diuers others had Saluages in like manner for their men. [1616–7]

Eleuen men cast away.

A bad president [*example*].

Thus we liued together, as if wee had beene one people, all the time Captaine *Yearley* staied with us, but such grudges and discontents daily increased among our selues, that vpon the arriuall of Captaine *Argall*, sent by the Councell and Companie to bee our Gouernour, Captaine *Yearley* returned for *England* in the yeere 1617.

From the writings of Captaine Nathaniel Powell, William Cantrill, *Sergeant* Boothe, Edward Gurganey.

During this time, the Lady *Rebecca*, alias *Pocahontas*, daughter to *Powhatan*, by the diligent care of Master *Iohn Rolfe* her husband and his friends, [w]as taught to speake such *English* as might well bee vnderstood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and ciuill after our *English* manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loued most dearely, and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were diuers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arriued at London, Captaine *Smith* to deserue her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abstract whereof followeth.

Pocahontas instructions.

To the most high and vertuous Princesse, Queene Anne *of Great Brittanie.*

Most admired Queene,

[1616] THe loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee [to] presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Maiestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull.

So it is,

A relation to Queene *Anne*, of *Pocahontas.*

That some ten yeeres agoe [*i.e.*, *Jan.* 1608] being in *Virginia*, and taken prisoner by the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I receiued from this great Saluage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne *Nantaquaus*, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I euer saw in a Saluage, and his sister *Pocahontas*, the Kings most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age [*therefore Smith, in June* 1616, *estimated Pocahontas to have been born in* 1595, *or* 1596; *and consequently, in* 1616, *to be* 21 *or* 20 *years old: but in June* 1608, *he looked upon her as a child of* 10 *years of age* (*p.* 38), *or born in* 1598; *which would make her only* 18 *in* 1616. *But that she was the older of these two estimates, is evident from the inscription*

on her picture; which is further confirmed by the text at p. 169], whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her: [*p.* cxxxvi.] I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to preuent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks [*or rather about three weeks, Smith was altogether away from James town, from* 10 *Dec.* 1607 *to* 8 *Jan.* 1608, *i.e., four complete weeks and portions of two others*: see *pp.* lxxxv–vi] fatting amongst those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *Iames* towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*; such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this [122] Lady *Pocahontas*. [1616]

Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit vs, and by her our iarres haue beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the vtmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee [*at Werowocomoco, about* 15 *Jan.* 1609, *see pp.* 138, 455], hauing but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gaue me intelligence, with her best aduice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her.

Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely

[1616] frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608–9], she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion; which if in those times, [it] had once beene dissolued, *Virginia* might haue line [*lain*] as it was at our first arriuall to this day.

Since then, this businesse hauing beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at [*on* 4 *Oct.* 1609, *see p.* 497]: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie; all which time shee was not heard of.

[*p.* 512.] About two yeeres after [*April* 1613] shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieued, peace concluded; and at last reiecting her [*p.* 514.] barbarous condition, [she] was maried [1 *April* 1614] to an *English* Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in *England*; the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first *Virginian* euer spake *English*, or had a childe in mariage by an *Englishman*: a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well vnderstood, worthy a Princes vnderstanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maiestie, what at your best leasure our approued Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maiesties life; and howeuer this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I neuer begged any thing of the state, or any: and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert; your birth, meanes and authoritie; hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Maiestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so vnworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maiestie. The most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how euer her stature [*Pocahontas was therefore not a tall woman*]: if

she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes; her present loue to vs and Christianitie might turne to such scorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worst of euill: where[as] finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your seruants an subiects, would so rauish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Maiestie and all the Kings honest subiects most earnestly desire. [1616]

And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Pocahontas meeting in *England* with Captaine *Smith.*

Being about this time preparing to set saile for *New-England*, I could not stay to doe her that seruice I desired, and she well deserued; but hearing shee was at *Branford* with diuers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with diuers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to haue writ she could speake *English*. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembred mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying,

> You did promise *Powhatan* what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you:

which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said,

> Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee), and feare you here I should call you father; I [**123**] tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for euer and euer your Countrieman. They did tell vs alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to *Plimoth* [*on* 12 *June* 1616, *p.* 525]; yet *Powhatan* did command *Vttamatomakkin* to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.

Vttamaco-mack, obser-uations of his vsage.

[1616-7] This Saluage, one of *Powhatans* Councell, being amongst them held an vnderstanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriuing at *Plimoth*, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to haue kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske.

Comming to *London*, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behauiour, hee told me

> *Powhatan* did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of.

Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied euer to haue seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly,

> You gaue *Powhatan* a white Dog, which *Powhatan* fed as himselfe; but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

Pocahontas her entertainment with the Queene.

The small time I staid in *London*, diuers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conuersion, and they haue seene many *English* Ladies worse fauoured, proportioned, and behauioured; and as since I haue heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Maiestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady *De la Ware*, and that honourable Lord her husband, and diuers other persons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtlesse she would haue deserued, had she liued to arriue in *Virginia*.

The gouernment deuolued to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617.

1617.

[1617]

THe Treasurer, Councell and Companie, hauing well furnished Captaine *Samuel Argall*, the Lady *Pocahontas* alias *Rebecca*, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the *George*; it pleased God at *Grauesend* to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her vnexpected death, than ioy to the beholders to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little childe *Thomas Rolfe* therefore was left at *Plimoth* with Sir *Lewis Stukly*, that desired the keeping of it.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

The death of *Pocahontas*.

Captaine *Hamar* his vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at *Plimoth*. In March they set saile 1617. and in May he arriued at *Iames* towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine *Yearley* and his Companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an *Indian*. In *Iames* towne he found but fiue or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled; the Store-house they vsed for the Church; the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco: the Saluages as frequent in their houses as themselues, whereby they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custodie and possession; the Colonie dispersed all about, planting *Tobacco*.

[1617-8] Captaine *Argall* not liking those proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the best order he could for repairing those defects which did exceedingly trouble vs; we were constrained euery yeere to build and repaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie: yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir *Thomas Dale*, was ready to fall, and the Palizado's not sufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not past 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one hundred twentie eight cattell, and fourescore and eight Goats, besides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good [**124**] plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere [1618] the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought vs neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieue the whole Colonie. For from the tenants wee seldome had aboue foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men women and Children.

1cOc. [? 6oo] bushels of Corne from the Saluages.

1618. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

This yeere hauing planted our fields, came a great drought; and such a cruell storme of haile, which did such spoile both to the Corne and Tobacco, that wee reaped but small profit: the Magazine that came in the *George*, being fiue moneths in her passage, proued very badly conditioned; but ere she arriued, we had gathered and made vp our Tobacco, the best at three shillings the pound, the rest at eighteene pence.

To supply vs, the Councell and Company with all possible care and diligence, furnished a good ship of some two hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred people and the Lord *la Ware*. They set saile in Aprill [1618], and tooke their course by the westerne Iles, where the Gouernour of the Ile of Saint *Michael* receiued the Lord *la Ware*, and honourably feasted him, with all the content hee could giue him.

Going from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, in which time many of them fell very sicke; thirtie died, one of which number was that most honourable Lord Gouernour the Lord *la Ware*, whose most noble and generous disposition is well knowne to

The death of the Lord *la Ware*.

his great cost, had beene most forward in this businesse for his Countries good. [1618]

Yet this tender state of *Virginia* was not growne to that maturitie, to maintaine such state and pleasure as was fit for such a personage, with so braue and great attendance: for some small number of aduentrous Gentlemen to make discoueries, and lie in Garrison ready vpon any occasion to keepe in feare the inconstant Saluages, nothing were more requisite; but to haue more to wait and play than worke, or more commanders and officers than industrious labourers was not so necessarie. For in *Virginia*, a plaine Souldier that can vse a Pick-axe and spade, is better than fiue Knights, although they were Knights that could breake a Lance: for men of great place, not inured to those incounters, when they finde things not su i]table, grow many times so discontented, they forget themselues, and oft become so carelesse, that a discontented melancholy brings them to much sorrow, and to others much miserie.

They are relieued in *New-England*.

At last they stood in for the coast of *New-England*; where they met a small Frenchman [*i.e.*, *a ship*], rich of Beuers and other Furres. Though wee had here but small knowledge of the coast nor countrie; yet they tooke such an abundance of Fish and Fowle, and so well refreshed themselues there with wood and water, as by the helpe of God thereby, hauing beene at Sea sixteene weekes [*April–August* 1618], [they] got to *Virginia*, who without this reliefe had beene in great danger to perish. The French-men made them such a feast, with such an abundance of varietie of Fish, Fowle and Fruits, as they all admired, and little expected that wild wildernesse could affoord such wonderfull abundance of plentie.

In this ship came about two hundred men, but very little prouision: and the ship called the *Treasurer* came in againe not long after with fortie passengers.

The Lord *la Wares* ship lying in *Virginia* three moneths [*Aug.—Nov.* 1618], wee victualled her with threescore bushels of Corne, and eight Hogsheads of flesh, besides other victuall she spent whilest they tarried there: this ship brought vs aduice that great multitudes were a preparing in *England* to bee sent, and relied much vpon that victuall

[1618] they should finde here: whereupon our Captaine [*Argall*] called a Councell, and writ to the Councell here in *England* the estate of the Colonie, and what a great miserie would insue, if they sent not prouision as well as people; and what they did suffer for want of skilfull husbandmen, and meanes to set their Ploughs on worke: hauing as good ground as any man can desire, and about fortie Bulls and Oxen; but they wanted men to bring them to labour, and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesse for the Cattell. Some thirtie or fortie acres wee had sowne with one Plough, but it stood so long on the ground before it was reaped, it was most[ly] shaken; and the rest spoiled with the [**125**] Cattell and Rats in the Barne, but no better Corne could bee for the quantitie.

Richard Killingbeck and foure other murdered by the Saluages.

Richard Killingbeck being with the Captaine [*Argall*] at *Kekoughtan*, desired leaue to returne to his wife at *Charles* hundred, hee went to *Iames* towne by water, there he got foure more to goe with him by land, but it proued that he intended to goe trade with the *Indies* [*Indians*] of *Chickahamania*: where making shew of the great quantitie of trucke they had, which the Saluages perceiuing, partly for their trucke, partly for reuenge of some friends they pretended should haue beene slaine by Captaine *Yearley*; one of them with an English peece shot *Killingbeck* dead, the other Saluages assaulted the rest and slew them, stripped them, and tooke what they had. But fearing this murther would come to light, and might cause them to suffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie; for presently they robbed their Machacomocko house of the towne, stole all the *Indian* treasure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other *Indians* related.

Their Church and Store-house.

Farfax, three children and two boyes also murdered.

On Sunday following, one *Farfax* that dwelt a mile from the towne, going to Church, left his wife and three small children safe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: she supposing praier to be done, left the children, and went to meet her husband; presently after came three or foure of those fugitiue Saluages, entred the house, and slew a boy and three children: and also another youth that stole out of the Church in praier time, meeting them, was likewise murdered.

Of this disaster the Captaine [*Argall*] sent to *Opechan-*

kanough for satisfaction, but he excused the matter, as altogether ignorant of it; at the same time the Saluages that were robbed were complaining to *Opechankanough*, and much feared the English would bee reuenged on them: so that *Opechankanough* sent to Captaine *Argall*, to assure him the peace should neuer be broken by him, desiring that he would not reuenge the iniurie of those fugitiues vpon the innocent people of that towne; which towne he should haue, and sent him a basket of earth, as possession giuen of it, and promised, so soone as possibly they could catch these robbers, to send him their heads for satisfaction, but he neuer performed it. [1618]

Samuel Argall, Iohn Rolfe.

A relation from Master Iohn Rolfe, *Iune* 15, 1618.

CONcerning the state of our new Common-wealth, it is somewhat bettered, for we haue sufficient to content our selues, though not in such abundance as is vainly reported in *England*.

Powhatan died this last Aprill [1618], yet the *Indians* continue in peace. *Itopatin* his second brother succeeds him, and both hee and *Opechankanough* haue confirmed our former league. *Powhatans* death.

On the eleuenth of May, about ten of the clocke in the night, happened a most fearefull tempest, but it continued not past halfe an houre, which powred downe hailestones eight or nine inches about, that none durst goe out of their doores, and though it tore the barke and leaues of the trees, yet wee finde not they hurt either man or beast; it fell onely about *Iames* towne, for but a mile to the East, and twentie to the West there was no haile at all. Hailestones eight inches about.

Thus in peace euery man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note.

Some priuate differences happened betwixt Captaine *Bruster* and Captaine *Argall*, and Captaine *Argall* and the Companie here in *England*; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any vse, and therefore vnfit to be remembred.

In December [1617] one Captaine *Stallings*, an old planter

[1617-9] in those parts, being imployed by them of the West countrie for a fishing voyage in *New-England*, fell foule of a Frenchman [*i.e.*, *ship*] whom hee tooke, leauing his owne ship to returne for *England*, himselfe with a small companie remained in the French barke, some small time after vpon the coast, and thence returned to winter in *Virginia*. [**126**]

The gouernment surrendred to Sir George Yearley.

1619. Sir *Edwin Sand*[*y*]*s* Treasurer. Master *Iohn Farer* Deputie.

FOr to begin with the yeere of our Lord, 1619. there arriued a little Pinnace priuatly from *England* about Easter [*Easter Sunday O. S. was* 28 *Mar. in* 1619] for Captaine *Argall*; who taking order for his affaires, within foure or fiue daies returned in her, and left for his Deputy, Captaine *Nathaniel Powell*.

On the eighteenth of *Aprill*, which was but ten or twelue daies after, arriued Sir *George Yearley*, by whom we vnderstood Sir *Edwin Sand*[*y*]*s* was chosen Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Farrar* his Deputy; and what great supplies was a preparing to be sent vs, which did rauish vs so much with ioy and content, we thought our selues now fully satisfied for our long toile and labours, and as happy men as any in the world. Notwithstanding, such an accident hapned Captaine *Stallings*, [that] the next day his ship was cast away, and he not long after slaine in a priuate quarrell.

Sir *George Yearly* to beginne his gouernment, added to be of his councell, Captaine *Francis West*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powell*, Master *Iohn Pory*, Master *Iohn Rolfe*, and Master *William Wick*[*h*]*am*, and Master *Samuel Macocke*, and propounded to haue a generall assembly with all expedition.

Vpon the twelfth of this Moneth [*April* 1619], came in a Pinnace of Captaine *Bargraues*; and on the seuenteenth [*April* 1619] Captaine *Lownes*, and one Master *Euans*, who intended to plant themselues at *Waraskoyack*: but now *Ophechankanough* will not come at vs, that causes vs [to] suspect his former promises.

Waras-koyock planted.

In May [1619] came in the *Margaret* of *Bristoll*, with foure and thirty men, all well and in health; and also many deuout gifts: and we were much troubled in examining some scan-

dalous letters sent into *England*, to disgrace this Country with barrennesse, to discourage the aduenturers, and so bring it and vs to ruine and confusion. Notwithstanding, we finde by them of best experience, an industrious man not other waies imploied, may well tend foure akers of Corne, and 1000. plants of Tobacco; and where they say an aker will yeeld but three or foure barrels, we haue ordinarily foure or fiue, but of new ground six, seuen, and eight, and a barrell of Pease and Beanes, which we esteeme as good as two of Corne, which is after thirty or forty bushels an aker, so that one man may prouide Corne for fiue; and apparell for two by the profit of his Tobacco. They say also English Wheat will yeeld but sixteene bushels an aker, and we haue reaped thirty: besides to manure the Land, no place hath more white and blew Marble [? *marl*] than here, had we but Carpenters to build and make Carts and Ploughs, and skilfull men that know how to vse them, and traine vp our cattell to draw them; which though we indeuour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting Tobaco. And yet of that, many are so couetous to haue much, they make little good; besides there are so many sofisticating Tobaco-mungers in *England*, were it neuer so bad, they would sell it for *Verinas*, and the trash that remaineth should be *Virginia*: such deuilish bad mindes we know some of our owne Country-men doe beare, not onely to the businesse, but also to our mother *England* her selfe; could they or durst they as freely defame her. [1619]

A barrell they account foure bushels.

The 25. of *Iune* [1619] came in the *Triall* with Corne and Cattell all in safety, which tooke from vs cleerely all feare of famine; then our gouernour and councell caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated [that were] thought expedient for the good of the Colony, and Captaine *Ward* was sent to *Monahigan* in new *England*, to fish in May, and returned the latter end of May, but to small purpose, for they wanted Salt. The *George* also was sent to *New-found-land* with the Cape Merchant: there she bought fish, that defraied her charges, and made a good voyage in seuen weekes.

Their time of Parlament.

About the last of August [1619] came in a dutch man of warre that sold vs twenty Negars [*this was the first intro-*

[1619] *duction of Negro slavery into Virginia*]: and *Iapazous* King of *Patawomeck*, came to *Iames* towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his Riuer, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one *Poule*, in a manner turned heathen, wee [**127**] were very iealous the Saluages would surprize vs.

Foure corporations named. The Gouernours haue bounded foure Corporations; which is the Companies, the Vniuersity, the Gouernours and Gleabe land: Ensigne *Wil. Spencer*, and *Thomas Barret* a Sergeant, with some others of the ancient Planters being set free, weare the first farmers that went forth; and haue chosen places to their content: so that now knowing their owne land, they striue who should exceed in building and planting.

The fourth of Nouember [1619], the *Bona noua* came in with all her people lusty and well; not long after one Master *Dirmer* sent out by some of *Plimoth* for *New-England*, arriued in a Barke of fiue tunnes, and returned the next Spring.

Notwithstanding the ill rumours of the vnwholsomnesse of *Iames* towne, the new commers that were planted at old *Paspaheghe*, [a] little more then a mile from it, had their healths better then any in the Country.

Captaine *Wards* exploit. In December [1619], Captaine *Ward* returned from *Patawomeck*, the people there dealt falsly with him, so that hee tooke 800. bushels of Corne from them perforce.

Captaine *Woddiffe* of *Bristol* came in not long after, with all his people lusty and in health: and we had two particular Gouernours sent vs, vnder the titles of Deputies to the Company, the one to haue charge of the Colledge Lands, the other of the Companies.

Now you are to vnderstand, that because there haue beene many complaints against the Gouernors, Captaines, and Officers in *Virginia*: for buying and selling men and boies, or to bee set ouer from one to another for a yeerely rent, was held in *England* a thing most intolerable; or that the tenants or lawfull seruants should be put from their places, or abridged their Couenants, was so odious, that the very report thereof brought a great scandall to the generall action. The Councell in *England* did send many good and worthy instructions for the amending [of] those abuses, and appointed

a hundred men should at the Companies charge be allotted and prouided to serue and attend the Gouernour during the time of his gouernment, which number he was to make good at his departure, and leaue to his Successor in like manner; fifty to the Deputy-Gouernour of the College land, and fifty to the Deputy of the Companies land, fifty to the Treasurer, to the Secretary fiue and twenty, and more to the Marshall and Cape merchant; which they are also to leaue to their successors; and likewise to euery particular Officer such a competency, as he might liue well in his Office, without oppressing any vnder their charge: which good law I pray God it be well obserued, and then we may truly say in *Virginia*, we are the most happy people in the world. [1619]

By me Iohn Rolfe.

THere went this yeere by the Companies records, 11. ships, and 1216. persons to be thus disposed on: Tenants for the Gouernors land fourescore, besides fifty sent the former spring; for the Companies land a hundred and thirty, for the College a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wiues ninety, seruants for publike seruice fifty, and fifty more whose labours were to bring vp thirty of the infidels children: the rest were sent to priuate Plantations. The number of Ships and men.

Two persons vnknowne haue giuen faire Plate and Ornaments for two Communion Tables, the one at the College, the other at the Church of Mistris *Mary Robinson*, who towards the foundation gaue two hundred pound. And another vnknowne person sent to the Treasurer fiue hundred and fifty pounds, for the bringing vp of the saluage children in Christianity. Master *Nicholas Farrar* deceased, hath by his Will giuen three hundred pounds to the College, to be paid when there shall be ten young Saluages placed in it, in the meane time foure and twenty pound [*i.e.*, *the interest on* £300 *at the then rate of* £6 *per cent.*] yeerely to bee distributed vnto three discreet and godly young men in the Colony, to bring vp three wilde young infidels in some good course of life. Gifts giuen.

Also there were granted eleuen Pattents, vpon condition to transport people and cattle to increase the Plantations. [128] But few performe them.

1620.

A desperat Sea-fight betwixt two Spanish men of warre, and a small English ship, at the Ile of *Dominica*, going to *Virginia*, by Captaine *Anthony Chester*.

[1620] The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Ferrar* Deputy.

HAuing taken our iourney towards *Virginia* in the beginning of February, a ship called the *Margaret* and *Iohn*, of one hundred and sixty tuns, eight Iron Peeces and a Falcon, with eightie Passengers besides Sailers; After many tempests and foule weather, about the foureteenth of March [1620] we were in thirteene degrees and an halfe of Northerly latitude, where we descried a ship at hull; it being but a faire gale of wind, we edged towards her to see what she was, but she presently set saile, and ran vs quickly out of sight.

A French man [*i.e.*, *a French ship*] cast away at *Guardalupo*.

This made vs keepe our course for *Mettalina*, and the next day passing *Dominica*, we came to an anchor at *Guardalupo*, to take in fresh water. Six French-men there cast away sixteene moneths agoe [? *Nov.* 1618] came aboord vs; they told vs a Spanish man of Warre but seuen daies before was seeking his consort, and this was she we descried at hull.

At *Meuis* we intended to refresh our selues, hauing beene eleuen weeks [*Feb.*—*April* 1620] pestered in this vnwholsome ship; but there we found two tall ships with the *Hollanders* colours; but necessitie forcing vs on shore, we anchored faire by them, and in friendly manner sent to

[1620]

ha[i]le them: but seeing they were *Spaniards*, retiring to our ship, they sent such a volley of shot after vs, that shot the Boat, split the Oares, and [shot] some thorow the clothes, yet not a man hurt; and then followed with their great Ordnance, that many times ouer-racked our ship, which being so cumbred with the Passengers prouisions, our Ordnance was not well fitted, nor any thing as it should haue beene.

The *Spaniards* begin.

But perceiuing what they were, we fitted our selues the best we could to preuent a mischiefe. Seeing them warp themselues to windward, we thought it not good to be boorded on both sides at an anchor; we intended to set saile, but that the Vice-Admirall battered so hard our starboord side, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their vnkindnesse with such faire shot from a Demiculuering, that shot her betweene wind and water, whereby she was glad to leaue vs and her Admirall together.

The Vice-Admirall shot betweene wind and water.

Comming faire by our quarter, he tooke in his *Holland* flag, and put forth his Spanish colours, and so ha[i]led vs. We quietly and quickly answered him, both what wee were, and whither bound; relating the effect of our Commission, and the cause of our comming thither for water, and not to annoy any of the King of *Spaines* Subiects, nor any.

She commanded vs amaine for the King of *Spaine*.

We replied with inlarging the particulars what friends both the Kings our Masters were; and as we would doe no wrong, we would take none.

They commanded vs aboord to shew our Commission; which we refused, but if they would send their Boat to vs willingly they should see it. But for answer they made two great shot at vs, with a volley of small shot, which caused vs to leaue the decks; then with many ill words, they laid vs aboord, which caused vs to raise our maine saile, and giue the word to our small shot which lay close and ready, that paid them in such sort, they quickly retired.

The manner of their fight

The fight continued halfe an houre, as if we had beene inuironed with fire and smoke, vntill they discouered the waste of our ship naked, where they brauely boorded vs loofe for loofe, hasting with pikes and swords to enter; but it pleased God so to direct our Captaine, and encourage our men with valour, that our pikes being formerly placed

[1620] vnder our halfe deck, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose vnder the Port holes, encountred them so rudely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and their whole company beaten backe. Many of our men were hurt, but I am sure they had two for one.

In the end they were violently repulsed, vntill they were reinforced to charge [129] againe by their commands, who standing vpon their honors, thought it a great indignity to be so affronted, which caused a second charge, and that answered with a second beating backe: whereat the Captaine grew inraged, and constrained them to come on againe afresh, which they did so effectually, that questionlesse it had wrought an alteration, if the God that tosseth Monarchies, and teareth Mountaines, had not taught vs to tosse our Pikes with prosperous euents, and powred out a volley of small shot amongst them, whereby that valiant Commander was slaine, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe likewise on the top of the hatches.

The Captaine slaine.

This we saw with our eies, and reioyced with it at our hearts, so that we might perceiue good successe comming on, our Captaine presently tooke aduantage of their discomfiture, though with much comiseration of that resolute Captaine, and not onely plied them againe with our Ordnance, but had more shot vnder the Pikes, which was bestowed to good purpose, and amazed our enemies with the suddennesse.

A worthy exploit of *Lucas*.

Amongst the rest, one *Lucas*, our Carpenters Mate, must not be forgotten, who perceiuing a way how to annoy them; As they were thus puzled and in a confusion, drew out a Minion vnder the halfe decke, and there bent it vpon them in such a manner, that when it was fired, the cases of stones and peeces of Iron fell vpon them so thick, as cleared the decke, and slew many; and in short time we saw few assailants, but such as crept from place to place couertly from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker than theirs: for although as far as we may commend our enemies, they had done something worthy of commendations; yet either wanting men, or being ouertaken with the vnlooked for valour of our men, they now began to shrinke, and giue vs leaue to be wanton with our aduantage.

Yet we could onely vse but foure peece of Ordnances,

but they serued the turne as well as all the rest: for she was shot so oft betweene wind and water, we saw they were willing to leaue vs, but by reason she was fast in the latch of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung aloofe, she could not cleare her selfe as she wrought to doe, till one cut the Cable with an axe, and was slaine by freeing vs. Hauing beene aboord vs two houres and an halfe, seeing her selfe cleere, all the shot wee had, plaied on both sides, which lasted till we were out of shot; then we discouered the Vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply vs with their Ordnances, and put vs in minde we had another worke in hand. Whereupon we separated the dead and hurt bodies, and manned the ship with the rest, and were so well incouraged wee waifed them amaine. [1620]

The *Admirall* stood aloofe off, and the other would not come within Falcon shot, where she lay battering vs till shee receiued another paiment from a Demiculuering, which made her beare with the shore for smooth water to mend her leakes.

The next morning they both came vp againe with vs, as if they had determined to deuour vs at once, but it seemed it was but a brauado, though they forsooke not our quarter for a time within Musket shot; yet all the night onely they kept vs company, but made not a shot. During which time we had leasure to prouide vs better than before: but God bethanked they made onely but a shew of another assault, ere suddenly the Vice-admirall fell a starne, and the other lay shaking in the wind, and so they both left vs.

The fight continued six houres, and was the more vnwelcome, because we were so ill prouided, and had no intent to fight, nor giue occasion to disturbe them. As for the losse of men, if Religion had not taught vs what by the prouidence of God is brought to passe, yet daily experience might informe vs, of the dangers of wars, and perils at sea, by stormes tempests, shipwracks, encounters with Pirats, meeting with enemies, crosse winds, long voiages, vnknowne shores, barbarous Nations, and an hundred inconueniences, of which humane pollicies are not capable, nor mens coniectures apprehensiue. The cuent of the fight.

[1620] We lost Doctor *Bohun*, a worthy valiant Gentleman, (a long time brought vp amongst the most learned Surgeons
[*A.* 506.] and Physitions in *Netherlands*, and this his second iourney to *Virginia*:) and seuen slaine out right; two died shortly of their wounds; sixteene was shot, whose limbs [**130**] God be thanked was recouered without maime, and [they are] now setled in *Virginia*.

How many they lost we know not, but we saw a great many lie on the decks, and their skuppers runne with bloud. They were about three hundred tunnes apeece, [and] each [of] sixteene or twentie Brasse-peeces.

Captaine *Chester*, who in this fight had behaued himselfe like a most vigilant, resolute, and a couragious souldier, as also our honest and valiant Master, did still so comfort and incourage vs by all the meanes they could.

At last, to all our great contents, we arriued in *Virginia*, and from thence returned safely to *England*.



The Names of the Aduenturers for *Virginia*, Alphabetically set downe, according to a printed *Booke, set out by the Treasurer and Councell* in this present yeere, 1620.

A

Sir William Aliffe. [1620]
Sir Roger Aston.
Sir Anthony Ashley.
Sir Iohn Akland.
Sir Anthonie Aucher.
Sir Robert Askwith.
Doctor Francis Anthony.
Charles Anthony.
Edward Allen.
Edmund Allen Esquire.
Iohn Allen.
Thomas Allen.
William Atkinson, Esquire.
Richard Ashcroft.
Nicholas Andrews.
Iohn Andrews the elder.
Iohn Andrews the younger.
Iames Ascough.
Giles Allington.
Morris Abbot.
Ambrose Asten.
Iames Askew.
Anthony Abdey.
Iohn Arundell, Esquire.

B

Edward, Earle of Bedford.
Iames, Lord Bishop of Bathe and Wells.
Sir Francis Barrington.
Sir Morice Barkley.
Sir Iohn Benet.
Sir Thomas Beamont.
Sir Amias Bamfield.
Sir Iohn Bourcher.

[1620]

Sir Edmund Bowyer.
Sir Thomas Bludder.
Sir George Bolles.
Sir Iohn Bingley.
Sir Thomas Button.
Sir Henry Beddingfield.
Companie of Barbers-Surgeons.
Companie of Bakers.
Richard Banister.
Iohn Bancks.
Miles Bancks.
Thomas Barber.
William Bonham.
Iames Bryerley.
William Barners.
Anthony Barners, Esquire.
William Brewster.
Richard Brooke.
Hugh Brooker, Esquire.
Ambrose Brewsey.
Iohn Brooke.
Matthew Bromridge.
Christopher Brooke, Esquire.
Martin Bond.
Gabriel Beadle.
Iohn Beadle.
Dauid Borne.
Edward Barnes.
Iohn Badger.
Edmund Branduell.
Robert Bowyer, Esquire.
Robert Bateman.
Thomas Britton.
Nicholas Benson. [131]
Edward Bishop.
Peter Burgoney.
Thomas Burgoney.
Robert Burgoney.
Christopher Baron.
Peter Benson.
Iohn Baker.
Iohn Bustoridge.
Francis Burley.
William Browne.
Robert Barker.
Samuel Burnham.
Edward Barkley.
William Bennet.
Captaine Edward Brewster.
Thomas Brocket.
Iohn Bullock.
George Bache.
Thomas Bayly.
William Barkley.
George Butler.
Timothie Bathurst.
George Burton.
Thomas Bret.
Captaine Iohn Brough.
Thomas Baker.
Iohn Blunt.
Thomas Bayly.
Richard and Edward Blunt.
Mineon Burrell.
Richard Blackmore.
William Beck.
Beniamin Brand.
Iohn Busbridge.
William Burrell.
William Barret.
Francis Baldwin.
Edward Barber.
Humphrey Basse.
Robert Bell.
Matthew Bromrick.
Iohn Beaumont.
George Barkley.
Peter Bartle.
Thomas Bretton.
Iohn Blount.
Arthur Bromfeld Esquire.

William Berbloke.
Charles Beck.

C

George, Lord Archbishop of Canterburie.
William Lord Cranborne, now Earle of Salisburie.
William, Lord Compton, now Earle of North-hampton.
William Lord Cauendish, now Earle of Deuonshire.
Richard, Earle of Clanricard.
Sir William Cauendish now Lord Cauendish.
Gray, Lord Chandos.
Sir Henry Cary.
Sir George Caluert.
Sir Lionell Cranfield.
Sir Edward Cecill.
Sir Robert Cotten.
Sir Oliuer Cromwell.
Sir Anthony Cope.
Sir Walter Cope.
Sir Edward Carr.
Sir Thomas Conisbie.
Sir George Cary.
Sir Edward Conwey.
Sir Walter Chute.
Sir Edward Culpeper.
Sir Henry Cary, Captaine.
Sir William Crauen.
Sir Walter Couert.
Sir George Coppin.
Sir George Chute.
Sir Thomas Couentry.
Sir Iohn Cutts.
Lady Cary.
Company of Cloth-workers.
Citie of Chichester.

Robert Chamberlaine. [1620]
Richard Chamberlaine.
Francis Couill.
William Coyse, Esquire.
Abraham Chamberlaine.
Thomas Carpenter.
Anthony Crew.
Richard Cox.
William Crosley.
Iames Chatfeild.
Richard Caswell.
Iohn Cornelis.
Randall Carter.
Executors of Randall Carter.
William Canning.
Edward Carue, Esquire.
Thomas Cannon, Esquire.
Richard Champion.
Rawley Crashaw.
Henry Collins.
Henry Cromwell.
Iohn Cooper.
Richard Cooper. [132]
Iohn Casson.
Thomas Colthurst.
Allen Cotten.
Edward Cage.
Abraham Carthwright.
Robert Coppin.
Thomas Conock.
Iohn Clapham.
Thomas Church.
William Carpenter.
Laurence Campe.
Iames Cambell.
Christopher Cletheroe.
Matthew Cooper.
George Chamber.
Captaine Iohn Cooke.
Captaine Thomas Conwey, Esquire.

[1620]

Edward Culpeper, Esquire.
Master William Crashaw.
Abraham Colmer.
Iohn Culpeper.
Edmund Colbey.
Richard Cooper.
Robert Creswell.
Iohn Cage, Esquire.
Matthew Caue.
William Crowe.
Abraham Carpenter.
Iohn Crowe.
Thomas Cordell.
Richard Connock, Esquire.
William Compton.
William Chester.
Thomas Couel.
Richard Carmarden, Esquire.
William and Paul Canning.
Henry Cromwell, Esquire.
Simon Codrington.
Clement Chichley.
Iames Cullemore.
William Cantrell.

D

Richard Earle of Dorset.
Edward Lord Denny.
Sir Iohn Digbie, now Lord Digbie.
Sir Iohn Dodcridge.
Sir Drew Drewry the elder.
Sir Thomas Dennis.
Sir Robert Drewry.
Sir Iohn Dauers.
Sir Dudley Digs.
Sir Marmaduke Dorrel.
Sir Thomas Dale.
Sir Thomas Denton.
Companie of Drapers.
Thomas Bond, Esquire.
Dauid Bent, Esquire.
Com[p]anie of Dyers.
Towne of Douer.
Master Richard Deane, Alderman.
Henry Dawkes.
Edward Dichfield.
William Dunne.
Iohn Dauis.
Matthew Dequester.
Philip Durdent.
Abraham Dawes.
Iohn Dike.
Thomas Draper.
Lancelot Dauis.
Rowley Dawsey.
William Dobson Esquire.
Anthony Dyot, Esquire.
Auery Dranfield.
Roger Dye.
Iohn Downes.
Iohn Drake.
Iohn Delbridge.
Beniamin Decroe.
Thomas Dyke.
Ieffery Duppa.
Daniel Darnelly.
Sara Draper.
Clement and Henry Dawkney.

E

Thomas, Earle of Exeter.
Sir Thomas Euerfield.
Sir Francis Egiock.
Sir Robert Edolph.
Iohn Eldred, Esquire.
William Euans.

Richard Euans.
Hugh Euans.
Ralph Ewens, Esquire.
Iohn Elkin.
Iohn Elkin.
Robert Euelin.
Nicholas Exton.
Iohn Exton.
George Etheridge.

F

Sir Moyle Finch.
Sir Henry Fanshaw.
Sir Thomas Freake.
Sir Peter Fretchuile. [133]
Sir William Fleetwood.
Sir Henry Fane.
Company of Fishmongers.
Iohn Fletcher.
Iohn Farmer.
Martin Freeman, Esquire.
Ralph Freeman.
William and Ralph Freeman.
Michael Fetiplace.
VVilliam Fettiplace.
Thomas Forrest.
Edward Fleetwood, Esquire.
William Felgate.
William Field.
Nicholas Ferrar.
Iohn Farrar.
Giles Francis.
Edward Fawcet.
Richard Farrington.
Iohn Francklin.
Richard Frith.
Iohn Ferne.
George Farmer.
Thomas Francis. [1620]
Iohn Fenner.
Nicholas Fuller, Esquire.
Thomas Foxall.
William Fleet.
Peter Franck, Esquire.
Richard Fishborne.
VVilliam Faldoe.
Iohn Fletcher, and Company.
VVilliam Ferrars.

G

Lady Elizabeth Gray.
Sir Iohn Gray.
Sir VVilliam Godolfine.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir VVilliam Gee.
Sir Richard Grobham.
Sir VVilliam Garaway.
Sir Francis Goodwin.
Sir George Goring.
Sir Thomas Grantham.
Company of Grocers.
Company of Goldsmiths.
Company of Girdlers.
Iohn Geering.
Iohn Gardiner.
Richard Gardiner.
Iohn Gilbert.
Thomas Graue.
Iohn Gray.
Nicholas Griece.
Richard Goddard.
Thomas Gipps.
Peter Gates.
Thomas Gibbs Esquire.
Laurence Greene.
William Greenwell.
Robert Garset.
Robert Gore.

[1620] *Thomas Gouge.*
Francis Glanuile, Esquire.

H

Henry, Earle of Huntington.
Lord Theophilus Haward, L. Walden.
Sir Iohn Harrington, L. Harington.
Sir Iohn Hollis, now Lord Hautein.
Sir Thomas Holecroft.
Sir William Harris.
Sir Thomas Harefleet.
Sir George Haiward.
Sir VVarwicke Heale.
Sir Baptist Hicks.
Sir Iohn Hanham.
Sir Thomas Horwell.
Sir Thomas Hewit.
Sir VVilliam Herrick.
Sir Eustace Hart.
Sir Pory Huntley.
Sir Arthur Harris.
Sir Edward Heron.
Sir Perseuall Hart.
Sir Ferdinando Heiborne.
Sir Lawrence Hide.
Master Hugh Hamersley, Alderman.
Master Richard Heron, Alderman.
Richard Humble, Esquire.
Master Richard Hackleuit.
Edward Harrison.
George Holeman.
Robert Hill.
Griffin Hinton.
Iohn Hawkins.
VVilliam Hancocke.
Iohn Harper.
George Hawger.
Iohn Holt.
Iohn Huntley.
Ieremy Heiden.
Ralph Hamer.
Ralph Hamer, Iunior.
Iohn Hodgeson.
Iohn Hanford.
Thomas Harris. [134]
Richard Howell.
Thomas Henshaw.
Leonard Harwood.
Tristram Hill.
Francis Haselridge.
Tobias Hinson.
Peter Heightley.
George Hawkenson.
Thomas Hackshaw.
Charles Hawkens.
Iohn Hodgis.
William Holland.
Robert Hartley.
Gregory Herst.
Thomas Hodgis.
William Hodgis.
Roger Harris.
Iohn Harris.
M. Iohn Haiward.
Iames Haiward.
Nicholas Hide, Esquire.
Iohn Hare, Esquire.
William Hackwell, Esquire.
Gressam Hoogan.
Humfrey Hanford.
William Haselden.
Nicholas Hooker.
Doctor Anthony Hunton.
Iohn Hodsale.
George Hooker.
Anthony Hinton.

Iohn Hogsell.
Thomas Hampton.
William Hicks.
William Holiland.
Ralph Harison.
Harman Harison.

I

Sir Thomas Iermyn.
Sir Robert Iohnson.
Sir Arthur Ingram.
Sir Francis Iones.
Company of Ironmongers.
Company of Inholders.
Company of Imbroyderers.
Bailiffes of Ipswich.
Henry Iackson.
Richard Ironside.
M. Robert Iohnson Alderman.
Thomas Iones.
William Iobson.
Thomas Iohnson.
Thomas Iadwine.
Iohn Iosua.
George Isam.
Philip Iacobson.
Peter Iacobson.
Thomas Iuxson Senior.
Iames Iewell.
Gabriel Iaques.
Walter Iobson.
Edward Iames.
Zachary Iones, Esquire.
Anthony Irbye, Esquire:
William I-anson.
Humfrey Iobson.

K

Sir Valentine Knightley.
Sir Robert Killegrew. [1620]
Sir Charles Kelke.
Sir Iohn Kaile.
Richard Kirrill.
Iohn Kirrill.
Ra[l]ph King.
Henry Kent.
Towne of Kings lynne.
Iohn Kettleby, Esquire.
Walter Kirkham, Esquire.

L

Henry Earle of Lincolne.
Robert, L. Lisle, now Earle of Leicester.
Thomas, Lord Laware.
Sir Francis Leigh.
Sir Richard Lowlace.
Sir William Litton.
Sir Iohn Lewson.
Sir William Lower.
Sir Samuel Leonard.
Sir Samson Leonard.
Company of Lethersellers.
Thomas Laughton.
William Lewson.
Peter Latham.
Peter Van Lore.
Henry Leigh.
Thomas Leuar.
Christofer Landman.
Morris Lewellin.
Edward Lewis.
Edward Lewkin.
Peter Lodge.
Thomas Layer.
Thomas Lawson.
Francis Lodge. [135]
Iohn Langley.
Dauid Loide.

[1620] *Iohn Leuitt.*
Thomas Fox and Luke Lodge.
Captaine Richard Linley.
Arnold Lulls.
William Lawrence.
Iohn Landman.
Nicholas Lichfield.
Nicholas Leate.
Gedeon de Laune.

M

Philip Earle of Montgomerie.
Doctor George Mountaine, now Lord Bishop of Lincolne.
William Lord Mounteagle, now Lord Morley.
Sir Thomas Mansell.
Sir Thomas Mildmay.
Sir William Maynard.
Sir Humfrey May.
Sir Peter Manhood.
Sir Iohn Merrick.
Sir George More.
Sir Robert Mansell.
Sir Arthur Mannering.
Sir Dauid Murrey.
Sir Edward Michelborn.
Sir Thomas Middleton.
Sir Robert Miller.
Sir Caualiero Maicott.
Doctor Iames Meddus.
Richard Martin, Esquire.
Company of Mercers.
Company of Merchant Taylors.
Otho Mowdite.
Captaine Iohn Martin.
Arthur Mouse.
Adrian More.
Thomas Mountford.
Thomas Morris.
Ralph Moorton.
Francis Mapes.
Richard Maplesden.
Iames Monger.
Peter Monsell.
Robert Middleton.
Thomas Maile.
Iohn Martin.
Iosias Maude.
Richard Morton.
George Mason.
Thomas Maddock.
Richard Moore.
Nicholas Moone.
Alfonsus van Medkerk.
Captaine Henry Meoles.
Philip Mutes.
Thomas Mayall.
Humfrey Marret.
Iaruis Mundz.
Robert Mildmay.
William Millet.
Richard Morer.
Iohn Miller.
Thomas Martin.
Iohn Middleton.
Francis Middleton.

N

Dudly, Lord North.
Francis, Lord Norris.
Sir Henry Neuill of Barkshire.
Thomas Nicols.
Christopher Nicols.
VVilliam Nicols.
George Newce.
Ioseph Newberow.
Christopher Newgate

Thomas Norincott.
Ionathan Nuttall.
Thomas Norton.

O

William Oxenbridge, Esquire.
Robert Offley.
Francis Oliuer.

P

VVilliam, Earle of Pembroke.
VVilliam, Lord Paget.
Iohn, Lord Petre.
George Percy, Esquire.
Sir Christofer Parkins.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Nicholas Parker.
Sir VVilliam Poole.
Sir Stephen Powell.
Sir Henry Peyton.
Sir Iames Perrot.
Sir Iohn Pettus.
Sir Robert Payne.
VVilliam Payne.
Iohn Payne.
Edward Parkins.
Edward Parkins his widow. [**136**]
Aden Perkins.
Thomas Perkin.
Richard Partridge.
William Palmer.
Miles Palmer.
Robert Parkhurst.
Richard Perciuall, Esquire.
Richard Poyntell.
George Pretty.
George Pit.
Allen Percy.
Abraham Peirce. [1620]
Edmund Peirce.
Phenice Pet.
Thomas Philips.
Henry Philpot.
Master George Procter.
Robert Penington.
Peter Peate.
Iohn Prat.
William Powell.
Edmund Peashall.
Captaine William Proude.
Henry Price.
Nicholas Pewriffe.
Thomas Pelham.
Richard Piggot.
Iohn Pawlet, Esquire.
Robert Pory.
Richard Paulson.

Q

William Quicke.

R

Sir Robert Rich, now Earle of Warwicke.
Sir Thomas Row.
Sir Henry Rainsford.
Sir William Romney.
Sir Iohn Ratcliffe.
Sir Steuen Ridlesdon.
Sir William Russell.
Master Edward Rotheram, Alderman.
Robert Rich.
Tedder Roberts.
Henry Robinson.
Iohn Russell.
Richard Rogers.

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Arthur Robinson.
Robert Robinson.
Millicent Ramsden.
Iohn Robinson.
George Robins.
Nichalas Rainton.
Henry Rolffe.
Iohn Reignolds.
Elias Roberts.
Henry Reignolds, Esquire.
William Roscarrocke, Esquire.
Humfrey Raymell.
Richard Robins.

S

Henry, Earle of Southampton.
Thomas, Earle of Suffolke.
Edward Semer, Earle of Hartford.
Robert, Earle of Salisbury.
Mary, Countesse of Shrewsbury.
Edmund, Lord Sheffeld.
Robert, Lord Spencer.
Iohn, Lord Stanhope.
Sir Iohn Saint-Iohn.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir Iohn Samms.
Sir Iohn Smith.
Sir Edwin Sandys.
Sir Samuel Sandys.
Sir Steuen Some.
Sir Ra[l]ph Shelton.
Sir Thomas Stewkley.
Sir William Saint-Iohn.
Sir William Smith.
Sir Richard Smith.
Sir Martin Stuteuill.
Sir Nicolas Salter.
Doctor Matthew Sutcliffe of Exeter.
Captaine Iohn Smith.
Thomas Sandys, Esquire.
Henry Sandys, Esquire.
George Sandys, Esquire.
Company of Skinners.
Company of Salters.
Company of Stationers.
Iohn Stokley.
Richard Staper.
Robert Singleton.
Thomas Shipton.
Cleophas Smith.
Richard Strongtharm.
Hildebrand Spruson.
Matthew Scriuener.
Othowell Smith.
George Scot.
Hewet Stapers. [137]
Iames Swift.
Richard Stratford.
Edmund Smith.
Robert Smith.
Matthias Springham.
Richard Smith.
Edward Smith.
Ionathan Smith.
Humfrey Smith.
Iohn Smith.
George Swinhow.
Ioseph Some.
William Sheckley.
Iohn Southick.
Henry Shelley.
Walter Shelley.
Richard Snarsborow.
George Stone.
Hugh Shepley.
William Strachey.
Vrion Spencer.

Iohn Scarpe.
Thomas Scott.
William Sharpe.
Steuen Sparrow.
Thomas Stokes.
Richard Shepard.
Henry Spranger.
William Stonnard.
Steuen Sad.
Iohn Stockley.
Thomas Steuens.
Matthew Shepard.
Thomas Sherwell.
William Seabright, Esquire.
Nicholas Sherwell.
Augustine Steward.
Thomas Stile.
Abraham Speckhard.
Edmund Scot.
Francis Smalman.
Gregory Sprint, Esquire.
Thomas Stacey.
William Sandbatch.
Augustine Stuard, Esquire.

T

Sir William Twisden.
Sir William Throckmorton.
Sir Nicholas Tufton.
Sir Iohn Treuer.
Sir Thomas Tracy.
George Thorpe, Esquire.
Doctor William Turner.
The Trinity house.
Richard Turner.
Iohn Tauerner.
Daniel Tucker.
Charles Towler.
William Tayler.
Leonard Townson.
Richard Tomlins. [1620]
Francis Tate, Esquire.
Andrew Troughton.
George Tucker.
Henry Timberlake.
William Tucker.
Lewis Tite.
Robert Thornton.

V

Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Walter Vaughan.
Henry Vincent.
Richard Venne.
Christopher Vertue.
Iohn Vassell.
Arthur Venne.

W

Henry Bishop of VVorcester.
Francis West, Esquire.
Sir Ralph Winwood.
Sir Iohn Wentworth.
Sir William Waad.
Sir Robert Wroth.
Sir Perciual Willoby.
Sir Charles Wilmott.
Sir Iohn Wats.
Sir Hugh Worrell.
Sir Edward Waterhouse.
Sir Thomas Wilsford.
Sir Richard Williamson.
Sir Iohn Wolstenholm.
Sir Thomas Walsingham.
Sir Thomas Watson.
Sir Thomas Wilson.
Sir Iohn Weld.
Mistris Katharine West, now Lady Conway.

[1620] *Iohn Wroth, Esquire.*
Captaine Maria Winckfield, Esquire.
Thomas Webb.
Rice Webb.
Edward Webb.
Sands Webb.
Felix Wilson.
Thomas White.
Richard Wiffen. [138]
William Williamson.
Humfrey Westwood.
Hugh Willeston.
Thomas Wheatley.
William Wattey.
William Webster.
Iames White.
Edmund Winne.
Iohn West.
Iohn Wright.
Edward Wooller.
Thomas Walker.
Iohn Wooller.
Iohn Westrow.
Edward Welch.
Nathaniel Waad.
Richard Widowes.
Dauid Waterhouse, Esquire.
Captaine Owen Winne.
Randall Wetwood.
George Wilmer, Esquire.
Edward Wilkes.
Leonard White.
Andrew Willmer.
Clement Willmer.
George Walker.
William Welbie.
Francis Whistler.
Thomas Wells.
Captaine Thomas Winne.
Iohn Whittingham.
Thomas Wheeler.
William Willet.
Deuereux Woogam.
Iohn Walker.
Thomas Wood.
Iohn Willet.
Nicholas Wheeler.
Thomas Wale.
William Wilston.
Iohn Waller.
William Ward.
William Willeston.
Iohn Water.
Thomas Warr, Esquire.
Dauid Wiffen.
Garret Weston.

Y

Sir George Yeardley, now Gouernour of Virginia.
William Yong.
Simon Yeomans.

Z

Edward, Lord Zouch.
Iohn Zouch, Esquire.

THat most generous and most honourable Lord, the Earle of Southampton, being pleased to take vpon him the title of Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Farrar* his Deputy, with such instructions as were necessary, and admonitions to all Officers to take heede of extortion, ingrosing commodities, forestalling of markets, especially to haue a vigilant care, the familiarity of the Saluages liuing amongst them made them not [a] way to betray or surprize them, for the building of Guest-houses [*hospitals*] to relieue the weake in, and that they did wonder in all this time they had made no discoueries, nor knew no more then the very place whereon they did inhabit, nor yet could euer see any returne for all this continuall charge and trouble; therefore they sent to be added to the Councell seuen Gentlemen, namely Master *Thorp*, Captaine *Nuce*, Master *Tracy*, Captaine *Middleton*, Captaine *Blount*, Master *Iohn Pountas*, and Master *Harwood*, with men, munition, and all things thought fitting; but they write from *Virginia*, many of the Ships were so pestred with diseased people, and throngedtogether intheir passage, there was much sicknesse and a great mortality, wherefore they desired rather a few able sufficient men well prouided, then great multitudes. [1620–1]

And because there were few accidents of note, but priuate aduertisements by letters, we will conclude this yeere, and proceed to the next.

Collected out of the Councels letters for Virginia.

The instructions and aduertisements for this yeere were both from *England* and *Virginia*, much like the last: only 1621.

[1621] The Earle of Southampton Treasurer. Master *Iohn Farrar* Deputy.

whereas before they had euer a suspicion of *Opechankanough*, and all the rest of the Saluages, they had an eye ouer him more then any; but now they all write so confidently of their assured peace with the Saluages, there is now no more feare nor danger either of their power or trechery; so that euery man planteth himselfe where he pleaseth, and followeth his businesse securely.

The election of Sir *Francis Wyat* Gouernour for *Virginia*.

But the time of Sir *George Yearley* being neere expired, the Councel here [**139**] made choise of a worthy young Gentleman Sir *Francis Wyat* to succeed him, whom they forthwith furnished and prouided, as they had done his Predecessors, with all the necessary instructions all these times had acquainted them, for the conuersion of the Saluages; the suppressing of planting Tobacco, and planting of Corne; not depending continually to be supplied by the Saluages, but in case of necessity to trade with them, whom long ere this, it hath beene promised and expected should haue beene fed and relieued by the English, not the English by them; and carefully to redresse all the complaints of the needlesse mortality of their people: and by all diligence seeke to send something home to satisfie the Aduenturers, that all this time had only liued vpon hopes, [and] grew so weary and discouraged, that it must now be substance that must maintaine their proceedings, and not letters, excuses and promises; seeing they could get so much and such great estates for themselues, as to spend after the rate of 100. pounds, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. nay some 2000. or 3000. pounds yearely, that were not worth so many pence when they went to *Virginia*, can scarce containe themselues either in diet, apparell, gaming, and all manner of such superfluity, within a lesse compasse than our curious, costly, and consuming Gallants here in *England*, which cannot possibly be there supported, but either by oppressing the Comminalty there, or deceiuing the generality here (or both).

Notes worthy obseruation.

Extracted out of the Councels Letters for Virginia.

A degression.

From *Virginia*, by the relations of the Chieftains there, and many I haue conferred with, that came from thence hither; I haue much admired to heare of the incredible pleasure, profit and plenty this Plantation doth abound

in, and yet could neuer heare of any returne but Tobacco: but it hath oft amazed me to vnderstand how strangely the Saluages hath beene taught the vse of our armes, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling peeces; and our men rooting in the ground about Tobacco like Swine. Besides, that the Saluages that doe little but continually exercise their bow and arrowes, should dwell and lie so familiarly amongst our men that practised little but the Spade; being so farre asunder, and in such small parties dispersed, and neither Fort, exercise of armes vsed, Ordnances mounted, Courts of guard, nor any preparation nor prouision to preuent a forraine enemy, much more the Saluages howsoeuer: for the Saluages vncertaine conformity I doe not wonder; but for their constancy and conuersion, I am and euer haue beene of the opinion of Master *Ionas Stockam* a Minister in *Virginia*, who euen at this time, when all things were so prosperous, and the Saluages at the point of conuersion, against all their Gouernours and Councels opinions, writ to the Councell and Company in *England* to this effect. [1621]

May 28 [1621].

Master *Stockams* relation.

WE that haue left our natiue country to soiourne in a strange land, some idle spectators, who either cowardly dare not, or couetously will not aduenture either their purses or persons in so commendable a worke; others supporting *Atlas* of this ilmost vnsupportable burdens as your selues, without whose assistance this *Virginia* Firmament (in which some) and I hope in short time will shine many more glorious Starres, though there be many Italiannated and Spaniolized Englishmen enuies our prosperities, and by all their ignominious scandals they can deuise seekes to dishearten what they can, those that are willing to further this glorious enterprize, to such I wish according to the decree of *Darius*, that whosoeuer is an enemy to our peace, and seeketh either by getting monipolicall paten[t]s, or by forging vniust tales to hinder our welfare, that his house were pulled downe, and a paire of gallowes made of the wood, and he hanged on them in the place.

[1621] As for those lasie seruants, who had rather stand all day idle, than worke, though but an houre in this Vineyard; and spend their substance riotously, than cast the superfluity of their wealth into your Treasury: I leaue them, as they are, to the eternall Iudge of the world.

But you, right worthy, that hath aduentured so freely; I [**140**] will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which, it may be, you expect should flow vnto you with a full tide; for the conuersion of the Saluages: I wonder you vse not the meanes, I confesse you say well to haue them conuerted by faire meanes, but they scorne to acknowledge it; as for the gifts bestowed on them they deuoure them, and so they would the giuers if they could: and though they haue endeuoured by all the meanes they could by kindnesse to conuert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers.

We haue sent boies amongst them to learne their Language, but they returne worse than they went; but I am no Statesman, nor loue I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can finde no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse: and I am perswaded if *Mars* and *Minerua* goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, then those verball Mercurians in their liues; and till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion.

The gouernment of Sir Francis Wyat.

The arriuall of Sir *Francis Wyat.*

ABout October [1621] arriued Sir *Francis Wyat*, with Master *George Sand[y]s* [*the poet*] appointed Treasurer, Master *Dauison* Secretary, Doctor *Pot* the Physician, and Master *Cloyburne* the Surgian; but much [of the] prouision was very badly conditioned, nay the Hogs would not eat that Corne they brought, which was a great cause of their sicknesse and mortality; and whatsoeuer is said against the *Virginia* Corne, they finde it doth better nourish than any prouision is sent thither.

The Sailers still they complaine are much to blame for imbesling the prouisions sent to priuate men, killing of Swine, and disorderly trucking; for which some order would be taken.

In them nine Ships that went with Sir *Francis VVyat*

not one Passenger died. At his arriuall he sent Master *Thorpe* to *Opechancanough*, whom hee found much satisfied with his comming, to confirme their leagues as he had done his Predecessors, and so contented his people should coinhabit amongst them, and hee found more motions of Religion in him than could be imagined. Euery man betaking himselfe to his quarter, it was ordered, that for euery head they should plant but 1000. Plants of Tobacco, and vpon each plant nine leaues, which will be about 100. weight [=112 *lbs.*]; the Corne being appointed but at two shillings and six pence the bushell, required such labour, it caused most men [to] neglect it, and depend vpon trade: where[as] were it rated at ten shillings the bushell, euery man would indeuour to haue plenty to sell to the new commers, or any that wanted; and seldome any is transported from *England*, but it standeth in as much, besides the hazard; and other necessaries the Ships might transport of that burden. [1621]

The 22. of Nouember [1621] arriued Master *Gookin* out of *Ireland*, with fifty men of his owne, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of prouision and cattle, and planted himselfe at *Nupor[t]s-newes:* the Cotton trees in a yeere grew so thicke as ones arme, and so high as a man: here any thing that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better. Master *Gookins* Plantation.

For the mortality of the people accuse not the place, for of the old Planters and the families scarce one of twenty miscarries, onely the want of necessaries are the occasions of those diseases.

And so wee will conclude this yeere with the shipping and numbers sent.

Out of the Councels Letters from Virginia.

This yeere was sent one and twenty saile of Ships that imployed more than 400. sailers and 1300. men, women and children of diuers faculties, with fourescore cattle; the *Tiger* fell in the Turkes hands, yet safely escaped: and by the returne of their letters from thence, the company is assured there can bee no fitter places of Mines, Wood and Water for Iron than there; and the French men affirme no Country is more proper for Vines, Oliues, Sike, Rice and Salt, &c. of which the next yeere they promise a good quantity. [141] The number of Ships and men.

GIFTS.

Gifts giuen.

THe Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the *Royall Iames* from the *East-Indies*, gaue towards the building of a free Schoole 70 pound, eight shillings, and six pence; and an vnknowne person to further it, sent thirtie pounds; and another in like manner fiue and twentie pounds; another refusing to be made knowne, gaue fortie shillings yeerely for a Sermon before the *Virginia* companie: also another that would not be knowne, sent for the College at *Henrico*, many excellent good religious bookes, worth ten pound, and a most curious Map of al that coast of *America*. Master *Thomas Bargaue* their Preacher there deceased, gaue a Librarie valued at one hundred Markes: and the Inhabitants hath made a contribution of one thousand and fiue hundred pounds, to build a house for the entertaining of strangers.

[1621] Patents granted.

This yeere [1621] also there was much suing for Patents for Plantations, who promised to transport such great multitudes of people: there was much disputing concerning those diuisions, as though the whole land had beene too little for them: six and twentie obtained their desires, but as yet not past six hath sent thither a man; notwithstanding many of them would haue more, and are not well contented; whom I would intreat, and all other wranglers, to peruse this saying of honest *Claudius*.

See'st not the world of Natures worke, the fairest well, I wot,
How it, it selfe together ties, as in a true-loues knot.
Nor seest how th'Elements ayre combin'd, maintaine one constant plea,
How midst of heauen contents the Sunne, and shore containes the sea;
And how the aire both compasseth, and carrieth still earths frame,
Yet neither pressing burdens it, nor parting leaues the same.

The obseruations of Master Iohn Pory *Secretarie of* Virginia, *in his trauels.*

HAuing but ten men meanly prouided, to plant the Secretaries land on the Easterne shore neere *Acomack* (Captaine *Wilcocks* plantation), the better to secure and assist each other. Sir *George Yearley* intending to visit *Smiths* Iles, fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with *Estinien Moll* a French-man, to finde a conuenient place to make salt in. [1621] My iourney to the Easterne shore.

Not long after *Namenacus* the King of *Pawtuxunt*, came to vs to seeke for *Thomas Saluage* our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led vs into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed vs his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie vpon it, we told him, No; No more, said hee, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome: which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Hauing taken a muster of the companies tenants; I went to *Smiths* Iles, where was our Salt-house: not farre off wee found a more conuenient place, and so returned to *Iames* towne. A good place to make salt in.

Being furnished the second time, wee arriued at *Aquohanock*, and conferred with *Kiptopeke* their King. Passing *Russels* Ile and *Onaucoke*, we arriued at *Pawtuxunt*: the discription of those places, you may reade in Captaine *Smiths* discoueries, therefore needlesse to bee writ againe [*pp.* 110, 119, 348, 413, 424].

But here arriuing at *Attoughcomoco* the habitation of *Namenacus*, and *Wamanato* his brother, long wee staied not ere they came aboord vs with a brasse Kettle, as bright without as within, ful of boyled Oisters. Strict order was The King of *Pawt[u]xunts* entertainment.

[1621] giuen none should offend vs, so that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to discouer what I could in their confines. *Wamanato* brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, so the elder brought me home, and [**142**] vsed me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day, he presented me twelue Beuer skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee liued, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Law of our God, and the first Chapter of *Genesis* expounded of *Adam* and *Eue*, and simple mariage; to which he replyed, hee was like *Adam* in one thing, for he neuer had but one wife at once: but he, as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better vnderstood.

The next day, the two Kings with their people, came aboord vs, but brought nothing according to promise; so that Ensigne *Saluage* challenged *Namenacus* [with] the breach of three promises, *viz.* not in giuing him a Boy, nor Corne though they had plentie, nor *Moutapass* (a fugitiue called *Robert Marcum*, that had liued 5. yeeres [1616–1621] amongst those northerly nations): which hee cunningly answered by excuses.

Womanato it seemes, was guiltlesse of this falshood, because hee staied alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to bee great and rich; he answered, They were things all men aspired vnto: which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell, so he gaue me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse vs. Some things being stolne from vs, he tooke such order that they were presently restored, then we interchanged presents: in all things hee much admired our discretions, and gaue vs a guide that hee called brother, to conduct vs vp the Riuer: by the way we met with diuers that stil tould vs of *Marcum:* and though it was in October [1621], we found the Countrie very hot, and their Corne gathered before ours at *Iames* towne.

The next day, we went to *Paccamaganant*, and they directed vs to *Assacomoco*, where their King *Cassatowap* had an old

quarrell with Ensigne *Saluage*, but now seeming reconciled, went with vs, with another Werowance, towards *Mattapanient*, where they perswaded vs ashore vpon the point of a thicket; but supposing it some trecherie, we returned to our boat: farre we had not gone from the shore, but a multitude of Saluages sallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and signes of hostilitie they could. When wee saw plainly their bad intent, wee set the two Werowances at libertie, that all this while had line [*lain*] in the Cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie, because we would conuert them by courtesie. Leauing them as we found them, very ciuill and subtill; wee returned the same way wee came to the laughing Kings on the Easterne shore, who told vs plainly, *Namanicus* would also haue allured him into his Countrie, vnder colour of trade, to cut his throat. Hee told vs also *Opechancanough* had imployed *Onianimo* to kill *Saluage*; because he brought the trade from him to the Easterne shore, and some disgrace hee had done his sonne and some thirteene of his people before one hundred of those Easterlings [*Indians on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay*], in rescuing *Thomas Graues* whom they would haue slaine: where hee and three more did challenge the thirteene *Pamavnkes* to fight, but they durst not; so that all those Easterlings so derided them, that they came there no more. [1621] The trecherie of *Namanicus*.

This *Thomas Saluage*, it is sixteene yeeres [*i.e.*, 1608–1624] since he went to *Virginia*, being a boy [*He arrived with Captain Newport on* 8 *Jan.* 1608, *see pp.* 100, 102, 108], hee was left with *Powhatan* for *Namontacke*, to learne the language: and as this Author [*J. Pory*] affirmeth, with much honestie and good successe hath serued the publike without any publike recompence, yet had an arrow shot through his body in their seruice. *Thomas Saluages* good seruice. [*p.* 517.]

This laughing King at *Accomack*, tels vs the land is not two daies iourny ouer in the broadest place, but in some places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean, where inhabit many people; so that by the narrownesse of the Land there is not many Deere, but most abundance of Fish and Fowle. *Kiptop*[*ek*]*e* his brother rules as his Lieutenant, who seeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himselfe, freely

[1621-2] resigned him the moitie of his Countrie, applying himselfe onely to husbandry and hunting, yet nothing neglected in his degree; nor is hee carelesse of any thing concernes the state, but as a vigilant and faithfull Counceller, as hee is an affectionated [**143**] Brother, bearing the greater burden in gouernment, though the lesser honour: where cleane contrary they on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, and the elder the dignitie. Those are the best husbands [*providers*] of any Saluages we know: for they prouide Corne to serue them all the yeare, yet spare; and the other not for halfe the yeare, yet want. They are the most ciuill and tractable people we haue met with; and by little sticks will keepe as iust an account of their promises, as by a tally. In their mariages they obserue a large distance, as well in affinitie as consanguinitie; nor doe [*pp.* 77, 373.] they vse that deuilish custome in making black Boyes.

There may be on this shore about two thousand people: they on the West would inuade them, but that they want Boats to crosse the Bay; and so would diuers other Nations, were they not protected by vs. A few of the Westerly Runnagados had conspired against the laughing King: but fearing their treason was discouered, fled to *Smiths* Iles, where they made a massacre of Deere and Hogges; and thence to *Rickahake*, betwixt *Cissapeack* and *Nansamund*, where they now are seated vnder the command of *Itoyatin*.

And so I returned to *Iames* Towne, where I found the gouernment rendred [*Oct.* 1621] to Sir *Francis Wyat*.

In February [1622] also he trauelled to the South Riuer *Chawonock*, some sixtie miles ouer land; which he found to be a very fruitfull and pleasant Country, yeelding two haruests in a yeare, and found much of the Silke grasse formerly spoken of, was kindly vsed by the people, and so returned.

Captaine Each *sent to build a Fort to secure the Countrey.*

1622. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and *Nicolas*

IT was no small content to all the Aduenturers to heare of the safe ariuall of all those ships and companies, which was thought sufficient to haue made a Plantation of themselues: and

againe to second them, was sent Captaine *Each* in the *Abigale*, a ship of three or foure hundred tunnes, who hath vndertaken to make a Block-house amongst the Oyster banks, that shall secure the Riuer. The furnishing him with Instruments, cost three hundred pounds; but the whole charge and the ships returne, will be neere two thousand pounds. In her went Captaine *Barwicke* with fiue and twentie men for the building ships and Boats, and not other waies to be imploied: and also a selected number to build the *East Indie* Schoole, but as yet from *Virginia* little returnes but priuate mens Tobacco, and faire promises of plentie of Iron, Silke, Wine, and many other good and rich commodities, besides the speedy conuersion of the Saluages, that at first were much discouraged from liuing amongst them, when they were debarred the vse of their peeces; therefore it was disputed as a matter of State, whether such as would liue amongst them should vse them or not, as a bait to allure them; or at least such as should bee called to the knowledge of Christ. [1622]

Farrar Deputy.

Fiue and twentie sent only to build Barks and Boats.

But because it was a great trouble for all causes to be brought to *Iames* Towne for a triall, Courts were appointed in conuenient places to releeue them: but as they can make no Lawes in *Virginia* till they be ratified here; so they thinke it but reason, none should bee inacted here without their consents, because they onely feele them, and must liue vnder them.

Still they complaine for want of Corne, but what must be had by Trade, and how vnwilling any Officer when he leaueth his place, is to make good his number of men to his Successor, but many of them during their times to help themselues, vndoes the Company: for the seruants you allow them, or such as they hire, they plant on their priuate Lands, not vpon that belongeth to their office, which crop alwaies exceeds yours, besides those which are your tenants to halfes, are forced to row them vp and downe, whereby both you and they lose more then halfe. Nor are those officers the ablest or best deseruing, but make their experience vpon the companies cost, and your land lies vnmanured to any purpose, and will yeeld as little profit to your next new officers. [144]

The massacre vpon the two and twentieth of March [1622].

[1622] The death of *Nemattanow*, writ by Master *Wimp*.

THe Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by *Nemattanow*, otherwise called *Iack* of the *Feather*, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Saluages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done him by the *English*. This Captaine comming to one *Morgans* house [*in March* 1622], knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded *Morgan* to goe with him to *Pamau*[*n*]*ke* to trucke, but the Saluage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to *Morgans* house, where he found two youths his Seruants, who asked for their Master: *Iack* replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would haue had him to Master *Thorp*: But *Iack* so moued their patience, they shot him; so he fell to the ground, [they] put him in a Boat to haue him before the Gouernor, then seuen or eight miles from them. But by the way *Iack* finding the pangs of death vpon him, desired of the Boyes two things: the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the *English*.

At the losse of this Saluage, *Opechankanough* much grieued and repined, with great threats of reuenge; but the *English* returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes

he could of loue and peace: yet within fourteene daies after he acted what followeth. [1622]

Sir *Francis Wyat* at his arriuall [*Oct.* 1621] was aduertised, he found the Countrey setled in such a firme peace, as most men there thought sure and vnuiolable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Saluages being euery way bettered by vs, and safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or neuer a sword, and seldomer a peece [used], except for a Deere or Fowle; by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground inuited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses [were] generally open to the Saluages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers; which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conuersion of the Saluages as they supposed. Security a bad guard.

Hauing occasion to send to *Opechankanough* about the middle of March, hee vsed the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or he dissolued it; yet such was the treachery of those people, when they had contriued our destruction, euen but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one *Browne* that liued among them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master. Yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselues ouer the Riuer, to consult on the deuillish murder that insued, and of our vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselues conuerted to Christianitie) preuented; and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March [1622], as also in the euening before, as at other times they came vnarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other prouisions to sell vs: yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe; so sudden in their execution, that The manner of the massacre.

[1622] few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner also they slew many of our people at seuerall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with vs, for the effecting that great master-peece of worke their conuersion: and by this meanes fell that fatall morning vnder the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious [**145**] and inhumane people, three hundred forty seuen men, women and children; most[l]y by their owne weapons; and not being content with their liues, they fell againe vpon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carkases into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Their cruelty. Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits; but spightfully also massacred them without any remorse or pitie: being in this more fell then Lions and Dragons, as Histories record, which haue preserued their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, to take humanitie vpon them, but these miscreants put on a more vnnaturall brutishnesse then beasts, as by those instances may appeare.

The murder of Master Thorp. That worthy religious Gentleman Master *George Thorp*, Deputie to the College lands, sometimes one of his Maiesties Pensioners, and in command one of the principall in *Virginia*; did so truly effect [*affect*] their conuersion, that whosoeuer vnder him did them the least displeasure, were punished seuerely. He thought nothing too deare for them, he neuer denied them any thing; in so much that when they complained that our Mastiues did feare them, he to content them in all things, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great displeasure of the owners, and would haue had all the rest guelt to make them the milder, might he haue had his will. The King dwelling but in a Cottage, he built him a faire house after the English fashion: in which he tooke such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he so admired, as locking and vnlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no deuice in the world comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe into this Kings fauour for his religious purpose, he conferred oft with him about Religion, as many other in this former Discourse had done: and this Pagan confessed to him (as he did to them) our God was better then theirs, and seemed to be much pleased with that Discourse, and of his company, and to requite all those courtesies; yet this viperous brood did, as the sequell shewed, not onely murder him, but with such spight and scorne abused his dead corps as is vnfitting to be heard with ciuill eares. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman vpon his fatall houre, was warned by his man, who perceiuing some treachery intended by those hell-hounds, to looke to himselfe, and withall ran away for feare he should be apprehended, and so saued his owne life; yet his Master out of his good meaning was so void of suspition and full of confidence, they had slaine him, or he could or would beleeue they would hurt him. [1622]

The slaughter of Captaine *Powell.*

Captaine *Nathaniel Powell* one of the first Planters, a valiant Souldier, and not any in the Countrey better knowne amongst them; yet such was the error of an ouer-conceited power and prosperitie, and their simplicities, they not onely slew him and his family, but butcher-like hagled their bodies, and cut off his head, to expresse their vttermost height of cruelty.

[*p.* 885.] A Saluage slaine.

Another of the old company of Captaine *Smith*, called *Nathaniel Causie*, being cruelly wounded, and the Saluages about him, with an axe did cleaue one of their heads, whereby the rest fled and he escaped: for they hurt not any that did either fight or stand vpon their guard. In one place, where there was but two men that had warning of it, [they] defended the house against sixty or more that assaulted it.

Master *Baldwines* escape.

Master *Baldwine* at *Warraskoyack*, his wife being so wounded, she lay for dead; yet by his oft discharging of his peece, [he] saued her, his house, himselfe, and diuers others.

Master *Thomas Hamer* with 22 escapeth.

At the same time they came to one Master *Harisons* house, neere halfe a mile from *Baldwines*, where was Master *Thomas Hamer* with six men, and eighteene or nineteene women and children. Here the Saluages with many presents and faire perswasions, fained they came for Captaine *Ralfe*

[1622] *Hamer* to go to their King, then hunting in the woods: presently they sent to him, but he not comming as they expected, [they] set fire of a Tobacco-house, and then came to tell them in the dwelling house of it to quench it; all the men ran towards it but Master *Hamer*, not suspecting any thing, whom [**146**] the Saluages pursued, [and] shot them full of arrowes, then beat out their braines. *Hamer* hauing finished a letter hee was a writing, followed after to see what was the matter, but quickly they shot an arrow in his back, which caused him returne and barricado vp the doores, whereupon the Saluages set fire on the house.

Harisons Boy finding his Masters peece loaded, discharged it at randome, at which bare report the Saluages all fled, *Baldwin* still discharging his peece, and Master *Hamer* with two and twentie persons thereby got to his house, leauing their owne burning. In like manner, they had fired Lieutenant *Basse* his house, with all the rest there about, slaine the people, and so left that Plantation.

Captaine *Ralfe Hamer* with forty escapeth.

Captaine *Hamer* all this while not knowing any thing, comming to his Brother that had sent for him to go hunt with the King, meeting the Saluages chasing some, [who] yet escaped, retired to his new house then a building, from whence he came; there onely with spades, axes, and brickbats, he defended himselfe and his Company till the Saluages departed.

Not long after, the Master from the ship had sent six Musketiers, with which he recouered their Merchants store-house, where he armed ten more; and so with thirtie more vnarmed workmen, found his Brother and the rest at *Baldwins*.

Now seeing all they had was burnt and consumed, they repaired to *Iames* Towne with their best expedition; yet not far from *Martins* hundred, where seuenty three were slaine, was a little house and a small family, that heard not of any of this till two daies after.

All those, and many others whom they haue as maliciously murdered, sought the good of those poore brutes, that thus despising Gods mercies, must needs now as miscreants be corrected by Iustice: to which leauing them, I will knit together the thred of this discourse.

At the time of the massacre, there were three or foure ships in *Iames* Riuer, and one in the next; and daily more to come in, as there did within foureteene daies after; one of which they indeuoured to haue surprised: yet were the hearts of the English euer stupid, and auerted from beleeuing any thing might weaken their hopes, to win them by kinde vsage to Christianitie. [1622] The Saluages attempt to surprise a ship.

But diuers write from thence, that Almighty God hath his great worke in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honor and glory to his name, and a more flourishing estate and safetie to themselues, and with more speed to conuert the Saluage children to himselfe, since he so miraculously hath preserued the English; there being yet, God be praised, eleuen parts of twelue [*i.e.*, 347×11=3817] remaining, whose carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to haue beene the greatest cause of their destructions: yet you see, God by a conuerted Saluage that disclosed the plot, saued the rest, and the Pinnace then in *Pamavnkes* Riuer, whereof (say they) though our sinnes made vs vnworthy of so glorious a conuersion, yet his infinite wisdome can neuerthelesse bring it to passe, and in good time, by such meanes as we thinke most vnlikely: for in the deliuery of them that suruiue, no mans particular carefulnesse saued one person, but the meere goodnesse of God himselfe, freely and miraculously preseruing whom he pleased.

The Letters of Master *George Sand*[*y*]*s*, a worthy Gentleman, and many others besides them returned, brought vs this vnwelcome newes, that hath beene heard at large in publike Court, that the *Indians* and they liued as one Nation: yet by a generall combination in one day plotted to subuert the whole Colony, and at one instant, though our seuerall Plantations were one hundred and fortie miles vp on [the] Riuer on both sides.

But for the better vnderstanding of all things, you must remember these wilde naked natiues liue not in great numbers together; but dispersed, commonly in thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or sixtie in a company. Some places haue two hundred, few places more, but many lesse; yet they had all warning giuen them one from another in all their habitations, though farre asunder, to meet at the day and houre appointed for our destruction at al our seuerall

[1622] Plantations; some directed to one place, some to another, all to be done at the time appointed, which they did accordingly. Some entring their houses vnder colour of trading, so tooke their [147] aduantage; others drawing vs abroad vnder faire pretences; and the rest suddenly falling vpon those that were at their labours.

Six of the Councell slaine.

Six of the counsell suffered vnder this treason, and the slaughter had beene vniuersall, if God had not put it into the heart of an *Indian*, who lying in the house of one *Pace*, was vrged by another *Indian* his Brother, that lay with him the night before, to kill *Pace*, as he should doe *Perry* which was his friend, being so commanded from their King: telling him also how the next day the execution should be finished. *Perrys Indian* presently arose and reueales it to *Pace*, that vsed him as his sonne; and thus them that escaped was saued by this one conuerted Infidell. And though three hundred fortie seuen were slaine, yet thousands of ours were by the meanes of this alone thus preserued; for which Gods name be praised for euer and euer.

How it was reuealed.

Pace vpon this, securing his house, before day rowed to *Iames* Towne, and told the Gouernor of it, whereby they were preuented, and at such other Plantations as possibly intelligence could be giuen: and where they saw vs vpon our guard, at the sight of a peece they ranne away; but the rest were most[ly] slaine, their houses burnt, such Armes and Munition as they found they tooke away, and some cattell also they destroied.

Since, wee finde *Opechankanough* the last yeare [1621] [*p.* 567.] had practised with a King on the Easterne shore, to furnish him with a kind of poison, which onely growes in his Country to poison vs. But of this bloudy acte neuer griefe and shame possessed any people more then themselues, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presenting of a staffe in manner or a peece, nor an vncharged peece in the hands of a woman.

(But I must tell those Authors, though some might be thus cowardly, there were many of them had better spirits.)

Memorandums.

Thus haue you heard the particulars of this massacre, which in those respects some say will be good for the Plantation, because now we haue iust cause to destroy

them by all meanes possible: but I thinke it had beene much better it had neuer happened, for they haue giuen vs an hundred times as iust occasions long agoe to subiect them, (and I wonder I can heare of none but Master *Stockam* and Master *Whitaker* of my opinion.) Moreouer, where before we were troubled in cleering the ground of great Timber, which was to them of small vse: now we may take their owne plaine fields and Habitations, which are the pleasantest places in the Countrey. Besides, the Deere, Turkies, and other Beasts and Fowles will exceedingly increase if we beat the Saluages out of the Countrey: for at all times of the yeare they neuer spare Male nor Female, old nor young, egges nor birds, fat nor leane, in season or out of season; with them all is one. The like they did in our Swine and Goats, for they haue vsed to kill eight in tenne more then we, or else the wood would most plentifully abound with victuall; besides it is more easie to ciuilize them by conquest then faire meanes; for the one may be made at once, but their ciuilizing will require a long time and much industry. [1622]

The manner how to suppresse them is so often related and approued, I omit it here: And you haue twenty examples of the *Spaniards* how they got the *West-Indies*, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slauery for them, themselues liuing like Souldiers vpon the fruits of their labours. This will make vs more circumspect, and be an example to posteritie: (But I say, this might as well haue beene put in practise sixteene yeares agoe [1606] as now [1622].) Captaine *Smith.*

Thus vpon this Anuill shall wee now beat our selues an Armour of proofe hereafter to defend vs against such incursions, and euer hereafter make vs more circumspect: but to helpe to repaire this losse, besides his Maiesties bounty in Armes [that] he gaue the Company out of the Tower, and diuers other Honorable persons haue renewed their aduentures, we must not omit the Honorable Citie of *London*, to whose endlesse praise wee may speake it, are now [1622] setting forward one hundred persons: and diuers others at their owne costs are a repairing; and all [148] good men doe thinke neuer the worse of the businesse for all these disasters. His Maiesties gift. *London* sets out 100 persons.

[1622] What growing state was there euer in the world which had not the like? *Rome* grew by oppression, and rose vpon the backe of her enemies: and the *Spaniards* haue had many of those counterbuffes, more than we. *Columbus*, vpon his returne from the *West-Indies* into *Spaine*, hauing left his people with the *Indies*, in peace and promise of good vsage amongst them, at his returne backe found not one of them liuing, but all treacherously slaine by the Saluages. After this againe, when the Spanish Colonies were increased to great numbers, the *Indians* from whom the *Spaniards* for trucking stuffe vsed to haue all their corne, generally conspired together to plant no more at all, intending thereby to famish them; themselues liuing in the meane time vpon Cassaua, a root to make bread, onely then knowne to themselues. This plot of theirs by the *Spaniards* ouersight, that foolishly depended vpon strangers for their bread, tooke such effect, and brought them to such misery by the rage of famine, that they spared no vncleane nor loathsome beast, no not the poisonous and hideous Serpents, but eat them vp also, deuouring one death to saue them from another; and by this meanes their whole Colony well-neere surfeted, sickned and died miserably. And when they had againe recouered this losse, by their incontinency an infinite number of them died on the *Indian* disease, we call the French Pox, which at first being a strange and an vnknowne malady, was deadly vpon whomsoeuer it lighted. Then had they a little flea called *Nigua*, which got betweene the skinne and the flesh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplied, making swellings and putrifactions, to the decay and losse of many of their bodily members.

A lamentable example too oft approued.

Againe, diuers times they were neere vndone by their ambition, faction, and malice of the Commanders. *Columbus*, to whom they were also much beholden, was sent with his Brother in chaines into *Spaine*; and some other great Commanders killed and murdered one another. *Pizzaro* was killed by *Almagros* sonne, and him *Vasco* beheaded; which *Vasco* was taken by *Blasco*, and *Blasco* was likewise taken by *Pizzaros* Brother: And thus by their couetous and spightfull quarrels, they were euer shaking the maine pillars of their Common-weale.

These and many more mischiefes and calamities hapned them, more then euer did to vs, and at one time being euen at the last gaspe, had two ships not arriued with supplies as they did, they were so disheartned, they were a leauing the Countrey: yet we see for all those miseries they haue attained to their ends at last, as is manifest to all the world, both with honour, power, and wealth; and whereas before few could be hired to goe to inhabit there, now with great su[i]te they must obtaine it; but where there was no honesty, nor equity, nor sanctitie, nor veritie, nor pietie, nor good ciuilitie in such a Countrey, certainly there can bee no stabilitie. [1622]

Note this conclusion.

Therefore let vs not be discouraged, but rather animated by those conclusions, seeing we are so well assured of the goodnesse and commodities [that] may bee had in *Virginia*; nor is it to be much doubted there is any want of Mines of most sorts, no not of the richest, as is well knowne to some yet liuing that can make it manifest when time shall serue: and yet to thinke that gold and siluer Mines are in a country otherwise most rich and fruitfull, or the greatest wealth in a Plantation, is but a popular error; as is that opinion likewise, that the gold and siluer is now the greatest wealth of the West Indies at this present.

How the *Spaniards* raise their wealth in the West Indies.

True it is indeed, that in the first conquest the Spaniards got great and mighty store of treasure from the Natiues, which they in long space had heaped together; and in those times the Indians shewed them entire and rich Mines, which now by the relations of them that haue beene there, are exceedingly wasted, so that now the charge of getting those Metals is growne excessiue, besides the consuming the liues of many by their pestilent smoke and vapours in digging and refining them, so that all things considered, the cleere gaines of those metals, the Kings part defraied, to the Aduenturers is but small, and nothing neere so much as vulgarly is imagined. And were it not [**149**] for other rich Commodities there that inrich them, those of the Contraction House were neuer able to subsist by the Mines onely; for the greatest part of their Commodities are partly naturall, and partly transported from other parts of the world, and planted in the *West-Indies*, as in their mighty wealth of Sugar canes, being

[1622] first transported from the Canaries; and in Ginger and other things brought out of the *East-Indies*, in their Cochanele, Indicos, Cotton, and their infinite store of Hides, Quick-siluer, Allum, Woad, Brasill woods, Dies, Paints, Tobacco, Gums, Balmes, Oiles, Medicinals and Perfumes, Sassaparilla, and many other physicall drugs: These are the meanes whereby they raise that mighty charge of drawing out their gold and siluer to the great and cleare reuenue of their King.

Now seeing the most of those commodities, or as vsefull, may be had in *Virginia* by the same meanes, as I haue formerly said; let vs with all speed take the priority of time, where also may be had the priority of place, in chusing the best seats of the Country; which now by vanquishing the saluages, is like to offer a more faire and ample choice of fruitfull habitations, then hitherto our gentlenesse and faire comportments could attaine vnto.

The numbers that were slaine in those seuerall Plantations.

1 AT Captaine *Berkleys* Plantation, himselfe and 21. others, seated at the *Falling-Crick*, 66. miles from *Iames* City. 22

2 Master *Thomas Sheffelds* Plantation, some three miles from the *Falling-Crick*, himselfe and 12. others. 13

3 At *Henrico* Iland, about two miles from *Sheffelds* Plantation. 6

4 Slaine of the College people, twenty miles from *Henrico*. 17

5 At *Charles* City, and of Captaine *Smiths* men. 5

6 At the next adioyning Plantation. 8

7 At *William Farrars* house. 10

8 At *Brickley* hundred, fifty miles from *Charles* City, Master *Thorp* and 10

9	At *Westouer*, a mile from *Brickley*.	2	[1622]
10	At Master *Iohn Wests* Plantation.	2	
11	At Captaine *Nathaniel Wests* Plantation.	2	
12	At Lieutenant *Gibs* his Plantation.	12	
13	At *Richard Owens* house, himselfe and	6	
14	At Master *Owen Macars* house, himselfe and	3	
15	At *Martins* hundred, seuen miles from *Iames* City.	73	
16	At another place.	7	
17	At *Edward Bonits* Plantation.	50	
18	At Master *Waters* his house, himselfe [*see p.* 591] and	4	
19	At *Apamatucks* Riuer, at Master *Perce* his Plantation, fiue miles from the College.	4	
20	At Master *Macocks* Diuident, Captaine *Samuel Macock* and	4	
21	At *Flowerda* hundred, Sir *George Yearleys* Plantation.	6	
22	On the other side opposite to it.	7	
23	At Master *Swinhows* house, himselfe and	7	
24	At Master *William Bickars* house, himselfe and	4	
25	At *Weanock*, of Sir *George Yearleys* people.	21	
26	At *Powel Brooke*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powel*, and	12	
27	At *South-hampton* hundred.	5	
28	At *Martin Brandons* hundred.	7	
29	At Captaine *Henry Spilmans* house.	2	
30	At Ensigne *Spences* house.	5	
31	At Master *Thomas Perse* his house by *Mulbery* Ile, himselfe and	4	

The whole number 347. [**150**] [*pp.* 593,599.]

Men in this taking bettered with affliction,
Better attend, and mind, and marke Religion,
For then true voyces issue from their hearts,
Then speake they what they thinke in inmost parts,
The truth remaines, they cast off fained Arts.

[1622] How they were reduced to fiue or six places.

THis lamentable and so vnexpected a disaster caused them all beleeue the opinion of Master *Stockam*, and draue them all to their wits end. It was twenty or thirty daies ere they could resolue what to doe, but at last it was concluded, all the petty Plantations should be abandoned, and drawne onely to make good fiue or six places, where all their labours now for the most part must redound to the Lords of those Lands where they were resident. Now for want of Boats, it was impossible vpon such a sudden to bring also their cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then in possession with them; all which for the most part at their departure was burnt, ruined and destroyed by the Saluages.

Gookins and *Iordens* resolution.

Only Master *Gookins* at *Nuports-newes* would not obey the Commanders command in that, though hee had scarce fiue and thirty of all sorts [*i.e.*, *ages &c.*] with him, yet he thought himselfe sufficient against what could happen, and so did to his great credit and the content of his Aduenturers. Master *Samuel Iorden* gathered together but a few of the straglers about him at Beggers-bush, where he fortified and liued in despight of the enemy. Nay, Mistrisse *Proctor*, a proper, ciuill, modest Gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the English Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her house themselues; as the Saluages did when they were gone, in whose despight they had kept it and what they had, a moneth or three weekes after the Massacre; which was to their hearts a griefe beyond comparison, to lose all they had in that manner, onely to secure others pleasures.

The opinion of Captaine *Smith.*

Now here in *England* it was thought, all those remainders might presently haue beene reduced into fifties or hundreds in places most conuenient with what they had, hauing such strong houses as they reported they had, which with small labour might haue beene made inuincible Castles against all the Saluages in the Land: and then presently raised a company, as a running Armie to torment the Barbarous and

secure the rest, and so haue had all that Country betwixt [1622]
the Riuers of *Powhatan* and *Pamavuke* to range and sustaine them; especially all the territories of *Kecoughtan*, *Chiskact* and *Paspahege*, from *Ozenies* to that branch of *Pamavuke*, comming from *Youghtanund*, which strait of land is not past 4. or 5. miles, to haue made a peninsula much bigger then the Summer Iles, inuironed with the broadest parts of those two maine Riuers, which for plenty of such things as *Virginia* affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more then sufficient for ten thousand men.

This, were it well vnderstood, cannot but be thought better then to bring fiue or six hundred to lodge and liue on that, which before would not well receiue and maintaine a hundred, planting little or nothing, but spend that they haue vpon hopes out of *England*, one euill begetting another, till the disease is past cure. Therefore it is impossible but such courses must produce most fearefull miseries and extreme extremities; if it proue otherwise, I should be exceeding glad.

I confesse I am somewhat too bold to censure other [*p.* 600.] mens actions being not present, but they haue done as much of me; yea many here in *England* that were neuer there, and also many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed: and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good so much, for which there hath beene so many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for speaking my opinion; seeing the old Prouerbe doth allow losers leaue to speake, and *Du Bartas* saith,

Euen as the wind the angry Ocean moues,
Waue hunteth Waue, and Billow Billow shoues, [151]
So doe all Nations iustell each the other,
And so one people doe pursue another,
And scarce a second hath the first vnhoused,
Before a third him thence againe haue roused.

[1622] The prouidence of Captaine *Nuse.*

AMongst the multitude of these seuerall Relations, it appeares Captaine *Nuse* seeing many of the difficulties to ensue, caused as much Corne to be planted as he could at *Elizabeths* city, and though some destroyed that they had set, fearing it would serue the Saluages for Ambuscadoes, trusting to releefe by trade, or from *England* (which hath euer beene one cause of our miseries, for from *England* wee haue not had much: and for trading, euery one hath not Ships, Shalops, Interpreters, men and prouisions to performe it; and those that haue,vse them onely for their owne priuate gaine, not the publike good), so that our beginning this yeere doth cause many to distrust the euent of the next.

Here wee will leaue Captaine *Nuse* for a while, lamenting the death of Captaine *Norton*, a valiant industrious Gentleman, adorned with many good qualities, besides Physicke and Chirurgery, which for the publike good he freely imparted to all *gratis*, but most bountifully to the poore; and let vs speake a little of Captaine *Croshaw* amongst the midst of those broiles in the Riuer of *Patawomeke*.

Captaine *Croshaw* his voyage to *Patawomek.* [*pp.* 172, 498, 503, 528, 606.]

Being [*in Mar.* 1622] in a small Barke called the *Elizabeth*, vnder the command of Captaine *Spilman*, at *Cekacawone*, a Saluage stole aboord them, and told them of the Massacre; and that *Opechancanough* had plotted with his King and Countrey to betray them also, which they refused: but them of *Wighcocomoco* at the mouth of the riuer had vndertaken it.

Vpon this *Spilman* went thither, but the Saluages seeing his men so vigilant and well armed, they suspected themselues discouered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, so contented his desire in trade, his Pinnace was neere fraught; but seeing no more to be had, *Croshaw* went to *Patawomek*, where he intended to stay and trade for himselfe, by reason of the long acquaintance he had with this King that so earnestly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his Captaine and director against the *Pazaticans*, the *Nacotchtanks*, and *Moyoans* his mortall enemies.

Of this oportunity *Croshaw* was glad, as well to satisfie

his owne desire in some other purpose he had, as to keepe the King as an opposite to *Opechancanough*, and adhere him vnto vs, or at least make him an instrument against our enemies; so onely *Elis Hill* stayed with him, and the Pinnace returned to *Elizabeths* City; here shall they rest also a little, till we see how this newes was entertained in *England*. [1622] [*p.* 591.]

The arriuall of this newes in *England*.

It was no small griefe to the Councell and Company, to vnderstand of such a supposed impossible losse, as that so many should fall by the hands of men so contemptible; and yet hauing such warnings, especially by the death of *Nemattanow*, whom the Saluages did thinke was shot-free, as he had perswaded them, hauing so long escaped so many dangers without any hurt.

But now to leape out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not so discourage the noble aduenturers, nor diuers others still to vndertake new seuerall Plantations; but that diuers ships were dispatched away, for their supplies and assistance thought sufficient.

Yet Captaine *Smith* did intreat and moue them to put in practise his old offer; seeing now it was time to vse both it and him, how slenderly heretofore both had beene regarded, and because it is not impertinent to the businesse, it is not much amisse to remember what it was. [152]

The proiect and offer of Captaine Iohn Smith, *to the Right Honourable* and Right Worshipfull Company [*of*] *Virginia.*

[1622] Captaine *Smiths* offer to the Company.

IF you please I may be transported with a hundred Souldiers and thirty Sailers by the next *Michaelmas* [1622], with victuall, munition, and such necessary prouision; by Gods assistance, we would endeuour to inforce the Saluages to leaue their Country, or bring them in that feare and subiection that euery man should follow their businesse securely. Whereas now halfe their times and labours are spent in watching and warding, onely to defend, but altogether vnable to suppresse the Saluages: because euery man now being for himselfe will be vnwilling to be drawne from their particular labours, to be made as pack-horses for all the rest, without any certainty of some better reward and preferment then I can vnderstand any there can or will yet giue them.

These I would imploy onely in ranging the Countries, and tormenting the Saluages, and that they should be as a running Army till this were affected; and then settle themselues in some such conuenient place, that should euer remaine a garison of that strength, ready vpon any occasion against the Saluages, or any other for the defence of the Countrey, and to see all the English well armed, and instruct them their vse.

But I would haue a Barke of one hundred tunnes, and meanes to build sixe or seuen Shalops, to transport them where there should bee occasion. [1622]

Towards the charge, because it is for the generall good, and what by the massacre and other accidents, *Virginia* is disparaged, and many men and their purses much discouraged, howeuer a great many doe hasten to goe, thinking to bee next heires to all the former losses, I feare they will not finde all things as they doe imagine; therefore leauing those gilded conceits, and diue into the true estate of the Colony; I thinke if his Maiestie were truly informed of their necessitie, and the benefit of this proiect, he would be pleased to giue the custome [*custom-house dues*] of *Virginia*; and the Planters also according to their abilities would adde thereto such a contribution, as would be fit to maintaine this garison till they be able to subsist, or cause some such other collections to be made, as may put it with all expedition in practice: otherwise it is much to be doubted, there will neither come custome, nor any thing from thence to *England* within these few yeares.

Now if this should be thought an imploiment more fit for ancient Souldiers there bred, then such new commers as may goe with me; you may please to leaue that to my discretion, to accept or refuse such voluntaries, that will hazard their fortunes in the trialls of these euents, and discharge such of my company that had rather labour the ground then subdue their enemies: what releefe I should haue from your Colony I would satisfie, and spare them (when I could) the like courtesie. Notwithstanding these doubts, I hope to feede them as well as defend them, and yet discouer you more land vnknowne then they all yet know, if you will grant me such priuiledges as of necessity must be vsed.

For against any enemy we must be ready to execute the best [that] can be deuised by your state there, but not that they shall either take away my men, or any thing else to imploy as they please by vertue of their authority: and in that I haue done somewhat for *New-England* as well as *Virginia*, so I would desire liberty and authority to make the best vse I can of my best experiences, within the limits of those two Patents, and to bring them both in one

[1622] Map, and the Countries betwixt them, giuing alwaies that respect to the Gouernors and gouernment, as an Englishman doth in *Scotland*, or a Scotchman in *England*, or as the regiments in the Low-countries doe to the Gouernors of the Townes and Cities where they are billited, or in Garrison, where though they liue with them, and are as their [**153**] seruants to defend them, yet not to be disposed on at their pleasure, but as the Prince and State doth command them. And for my owne paines in particular I aske not any thing but what I can produce from the proper labour of the Saluages.

Their Answer.

Their answer.

I Cannot say, it was generally for the Company, for being published in their Court, the most that heard it liked exceeding well of the motion, and some would haue been very large Aduenturers in it, especially Sir *Iohn Brookes* and Master *Dauid Wyffin*, but there were such diuisions amongst them, I could obtaine no answer but this, the charge would be too great; their stocke was decayed, and they did thinke the [*p.* 955.] Planters should doe that of themselues if I could finde meanes to effect it; they did thinke I might haue leaue of the Company, prouided they might haue halfe the pillage, but I thinke there are not many will much striue for that imploiment, for except it be a little Corne at some time of the yeere is to be had, I would not giue twenty pound for all the pillage is to be got amongst the Saluages in twenty yeeres: but because they supposed I spake only for my owne ends, it were good those vnderstand[ing] prouidents for the Companies good they so much talke of, were sent thither to make triall of their profound wisdomes and long experiences.

The manner of the Sallary

About this time also was propounded a proposition concerning a Sallery of fiue and twenty thousand pounds to be raised out of Tobacco, as a yeerely pension to bee paid to certaine Officers for the erecting a new office, concerning the sole importation of Tobacco, besides his Maiesties custome, fraught, and all other charges. To nominate

the vndertakers, fauourers and opposers, with their arguments *(pro)* and *(con)* would bee too tedious and needlesse being so publikely knowne; the which to establish, spent a good part of that yeere, and the beginning of the next. [1622-3]

This made many thinke wonders of *Virginia*, to pay such pensions extraordinary to a few here that were neuer there, and also in what state and pompe some Chieftaines and diuers of their associates liue in *Virginia*; and yet no money to maintaine a Garrison, pay poore men their wages, nor yet fiue and twenty pence to all the Adventurers here, and very little to the most part of the Planters there, bred such differences in opinion it was dissolued.

Captaine *Croshaw* staies at *Patawomek*, and his aduentures. [*p.* 587.]

NOw let vs returne to Captaine *Croshaw* at *Patawomek*, where he had not beene long ere *Opechancanough* sent two baskets of beads to this King, to kill him and his man, assuring him of the Massacre he had made, and that before the end of two Moones there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries: this fearefull message the King told this Captaine, who replied, he had seene both the cowardise and trechery of *Opechancanough* sufficiently tried by Captaine *Smith* [*pp.* 142, 459], therefore his threats he feared not, nor for his fauour cared, but would nakedly fight with him or any of his with their owne swords; if he were slaine, he would leaue a letter for his Country men to know, the fault was his owne, not the Kings.

Two daies the King deliberated vpon an answer, at last told him the English were his friends, and the Saluage Emperour *Opitchapam*, now called *Toyatan*, was his brother; therefore there should be no bloud shed betwixt them: for hee returned the Presents, willing the *Pamavukes* to come no more in his Country, lest the English, though against his will, should doe them any mischiefe.

The escape of *Waters* and his Wife.

Not long after, a Boat going abroad to seeke out some releefe amongst the Plantations, by *Nuports-newes* met such ill weather, [that] though the men were saued they lost their boat, which the storme and waues cast vpon the shore of *Nandsamund*: where *Edward Waters* [*pp.* 583, 638,

[1622] 640, 660] one of the three that first stayed in Summer Iles, and found the great peece of Amber-greece, dwelling in *Virginia* at this Massacre, [**154**] hee and his wife these *Nandsamunds* kept Prisoners till it chanced they found this Boat; at which purchase they so reioyced, according to their custome of triumph, with songs, dances and inuocations. They were so busied, that *Waters* and his wife found opportunity to get secretly into their Canow, and so crossed the Riuer to *Kecoughtan*, which is nine or ten miles: whereat the English no lesse wondred and reioyced, then the Saluages were madded with discontent. Thus you may see how many desperate dangers some men escape, when others die that haue all things at their pleasure.

The arriuall of Captaine *Hamar* at *Patawomeke.*

All men thinking Captaine *Croshaw* dead, Captaine *Hamer* arriuing with a Ship and a Pinnace at *Patawomeke*, was kindly entertained both by him [*Crashaw*] and the King; that *Don Hamar* told the King he came for Corne; the King replied hee had none, but the *Nacotchtanks* and their confederats had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would giue them 40. or 50 choise Bow-men to conduct and assist them. Those Saluages, with some of the English, they sent; who so well played their parts, they slew 18. of the *Nacotchtanks*, some write but 4. and some they had a long skirmish with them; where the *Patawomeks* were so eager of reuenge, they driue them not onely out of their towne, but all out of sight through the woods, thus taking what they liked, and spoiling the rest, they retired to *Patawomek*: where they left Captaine *Croshaw*, with foure men more, the rest set saile for *Iames* towne.

Croshaws Fort and plot for trade.

Captaine *Croshaw* now with fiue men and himselfe found night and day so many Alarums, he retired into such a conuenient place, that with the helpe of the Saluages, hee had quickly fortified himselfe against all those wilde enemies. Captaine *Nuse* his Pinnace meeting *Hamar* by the way, vnderstanding all this, came to see Captaine *Croshaw:* after their best enterchanges of courtesies, *Croshaw* writ to *Nuse* the estate of the place where he was, but vnderstanding by them the poore estate of the Colony, offered if they would send him but a bold

Shallop, with men, armes and prouision for trade, the next Haruest he would prouide them Corne sufficient, but as yet it being but the latter end of Iune [1622], there was little or none in all the Country. [1622]

Captaine *Madyson* sent to *Patawomek.* [*p.* 599.]

This being made knowne to the Gouernour and the rest, they sent Captaine *Madyson* with a ship and pinnace, and some six and thirtie men: those *Croshaw* a good time taught the vse of their armes, but receiuing a letter from *Boyse* his Wife, a prisoner with nineteene more at *Pamavuke*, to vse meanes to the Gouernour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got first two of his great men to goe with him to *Iames* towne, and eight daies after to send foure of his counsell to *Pamavuke*, there to stay till he sent one of his two to them, to perswade *Opachankanough* to send two of his with two of the *Patawomekes*, to treat about those prisoners, and the rest should remaine their hostage at *Pamavuke*.

But the Commanders, at *Iames* towne, it seemes, liked not of it, and so sent the *Patawomekes* backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine *Croshaw* to his owne habitation.

The industry of Captaine *Nuse.*

All this time we haue forgot Captaine *Nuse*, where we left him but newly acquainted with the Massacre, calling all his next adioyning dispersed neighbours together, he regarded not the pestring his owne house, nor any thing to releeue them, and with all speed entrenched himselfe, mounted three peece of Ordnance, so that within 14. daies, he was strong enough to defend himselfe from all the Saluages, yet when victuall grew scant, some that would forrage without order, which he punished, neere occasioned a mutiny. Notwithstanding, he behaued himselfe so fatherly and kindly to them all, they built two houses for them he daily expected from *England*, a faire Well of fresh water mantled with bricke, because the Riuer and Cricks are there brackish or salt; in all which things he plaied the Sawyer, Carpenter, Dauber, Laborer, or any thing; wherein though his courage and heart were steeled, he found his body was not made of Iron, for hee had many sicknesses, and at last a Dropsie, no lesse griefe to himselfe, then sorrow to his Wife and all vnder his gouern-

[1622] ment. These crosses and losses were [**155**] no small increasers of his malady, nor the thus abandoning our Plantations, the losse of our Haruest, and also Tobacco which was as our money; the Vineyard our Vineyetours had brought to a good forwardnesse, bruised and destroyed with Deere, and all things ere they came to perfection, with weeds, disorderly persons or wild beasts; so that as we are I cannot perceiue but the next yeere [1623] will be worse, being still tormented with pride and flattery, idlenesse and couetousnesse, as though they had vowed heere to keepe their Court with all the pestilent vices in the world for their attendants, inchanted with a conceited statelinesse, euen in the very bottome of miserable senselesnesse.

Captaine *Powel* kils 3. Saluages.

Shortly after, Sir *George Yearly* and Captaine *William Powel*, tooke each of them a company of well disposed Gentlemen and others to seeke their enemies. *Yearley* ranging the shore of *Weanock*, could see nothing but their old houses which he burnt, and so went home: *Powel* searching another part, found them all fled but three he met by chance, whose heads hee cut off, burnt their houses, and so returned; for the Saluages are so light and swift, though wee see them (being so loaded with armour) they haue much aduantage of vs though they be cowards.

The opinion of Captaine *Smith*.

I confesse this is true, and it may cause some suppose they are grown inuincible: but will any goe to catch a Hare with a Taber and a Pipe? for who knowes not though there be monsters both of men and beasts, fish and fowle, yet the greatest, the strongest, the wildest, cruellest, fiercest and cunningest, by reason, art and vigilancy, courage and industry hath beene slaine, subiected or made tame: and those are still but Saluages as they were, onely growne more bold by our owne simplicities, and still will be worse and worse till they be tormented with a continuall pursuit, and not with lying inclosed within Palizados, or affrighting them out of your sights, thinking they haue done well, [that] can but defend themselues: and to doe this to any purpose, will require both charge, patience and experience. But to their proceedings.

About the latter end of Iune [1622], Sir *George Yearley* accompanied with the Councell, and a number of the greatest Gallants in the Land, stayed three or four daies with Captaine *Nuse*, he making his moane to a chiefe man amongst them for want of prouision for his Company, the great Commander replied hee should turne them to his greene Corne, which would make them plumpe and fat: these fields being so neere the Fort, were better regarded and preserued then the rest, but the great mans command, as we call them, were quickly obeied, for though it was scarce halfe growne either to the greatnesse or goodnesse, they deuoured it greene though it did them small good. [1622]

Sir *George Yearleys* iourn[e]y to *Accomack*.

Sir *George* with his company went to *Accomack* to his new Plantation, where he staied neere six weekes: some Corne he brought home; but as he aduentured for himselfe, he accordingly enioyed the benefit. Some pet[t]y Magazines [*Victualling ships*] came this Summer, but either the restraint by Proclamation, or want of Boats, or both, caused few but the Chieftaines to be little better by them.

So long as Captaine *Nuse* had any thing we had part; but now all being spent, and the people forced to liue vpon Oisters and Crabs, they became so faint no worke could be done; and where the Law was, no worke, no meat, now the case is altered, to no meat, no worke: some small quantity of Milke and Rice the Captaine had of his owne, and that he would distribute *gratis* as he saw occasion; I say *gratis*, for I know no place else, but it was sold for ready paiment. Those eares of Corne that had escaped till August, though not ripe by reason of the late planting, the very Dogs did repaire to the Corne fields to seeke them as the men till they were hanged: and this I protest before God is true that I haue related, not to flatter *Nuse*, nor condemne any, but all the time I haue liued in *Virginia*, I haue not seene nor heard that any Commander hath taken such continuall paines for the publike, or done so little good for himselfe; and his vertuous wife was no lesse charitable and compassionate according to her power. For my owne part, although I found neither *Mulberies* planted, houses built, [**156**] men nor victuall prouided, as the honourable Aduenturers did promise mee in *England*; yet at my owne charge, hauing made these preparations, and the silke-

Captaine *Nuse* his misery.

[1622] Wormes ready to be couered, all was lost, but my poore life and children, by the Massacre, the which as God in his mercy did preserue, I continually pray we may spend to his glory.

An Alarum, foure slaine. The 9. of September [1622], we had an alarum, and two men at their labours slaine; the Captaine [*Nuse*], though extreme sicke, sallied forth, but the Saluages lay hid in the Corne fields all night, where they destroyed all they could, and killed two men more. Much mischiefe they did to Master *Edward Hills* cattle, yet he alone defended his house though his men were sicke and could doe nothing, and this was our first assault since the Massacre.

The kindnesse of the King of *Patawomek*. About this time Captaine *Madyson* passed by vs, hauing taken Prisoners, the King of *Patawomek*, his sonne, and two more, and thus it happened. *Madyson* not liking so well to liue amongst the Saluages as *Croshaw* did, built him a strong house within the Fort, so that they were not so sociable as before, nor did they much like *Poole* the Interpre[te]r. Many Alarums they had, but saw no enemies: *Madyson* before his building went to *Moyaones*, where hee got prouision for a moneth, and was promised much more; so he returned to *Patawomek* and built this house, and was well vsed by the Saluages. Now by the foure great men the King sent to *Pamavuke* for the redemption of the Prisoners, *Madyson* sent them a letter, but they could neither deliuer it nor see them: so long they stayed that the King grew doubtfull of their bad vsage, that hee swore by the Skyes, if they returned not well, he would haue warres with *Opechankanough* so long as he had any thing.

At this time two of *Madysons* men ranne from him, to finde them he sent Master *Iohn Vpton* and three more with an Indian guide to *Nazatica*, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the *Necosts*, enemies to the *Patawomeks*; this expulsed King though he professed much loue to the *Patawomeks*, yet hee loued not the King because he would not helpe him to reuenge his iniuries, but to our Interpreter *Poole* hee protested great loue, promising if any treason were, he would reueale it; our guide conducted this *Bandyto* with them vp to *Patawomek* and there kept him; our Fugitiues we found the *Patawomeks* had taken and brought home, and the foure great men returned from *Pamavuke*.

Not long after, this expulsed King desired priuate conference with *Poole*, vrging him to sweare by his God neuer to reueale what hee would tell him, *Poole* promised he would not; then quoth this King, those great men that went to *Pamavuke*, went not as you suppose they pretended, but to contract with *Opechankanough* how to kill you all here, and these are their plots. [1622]

A Saluages policy.

First, they will procure halfe of you to goe a fishing to their furthest towne, and there set vpon them, and cut off the rest; if that faile, they will faine a place where are many strangers [that] would trade their Furres, where they will perswade halfe of you to goe trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this faile also, then they will make Alarums two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then set vpon you, yet of all this, said he, there is none acquainted but the King and the great Coniurer.

Madison takes the King and kils 30. or 40.

This being made known to the Captain, we all stood more punctually vpon our guard, at which the Saluages wondering, desired to know the cause; we told them we expected some assault from the *Pamavukes*, whereat they seemed contented; and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other a fishing and abroad as before, till our Shallop returned from *Iames* towne with the two Saluages sent home with Captaine *Croshaw*: by those the Gouernour sent to *Madyson*, that this King should send him twelue of his great men; word of this was sent to the King at another towne where he was, who not comming presently with the Messenger, *Madyson* conceited hee regarded not the message, and intended as he supposed the same treason.

The next morning the King comming home, being sent for, he came to the Captaine and brought him a dish of their daintiest fruit; then the Captaine fained his returne to *Iames* towne, the [157] King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leaue him destitute of aid, hauing so many enemies about him; the Captaine told him he would leaue a guard, but intreated his answer concerning the twelue great men for the Gouernour; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them; then the Captaine desired his sonne and one other; my sonne,

[1622] said the King, is gone abroad about businesse, but the other you desire you shall haue, and that other sits by him, but that man refused to goe, whereupon *Madyson* went forth and locked the doore, leauing the King, his sonne, and foure Saluages, and fiue English men in the strong house, and setting vpon the towne with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women and children. The King demanding the cause, *Poole* told him the treason, crying out to intreat the Captaine cease from such cruelty: but hauing slaine and made flye all in the towne, hee returned, taxing the poore King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter, but said, This is some plot of them that told it, onely to kill mee for being your friend.

Then *Madyson* willed him, to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboord, which he presently did, and it was performed: so *Madyson* departed, leading the King, his sonne, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should returne at libertie; notwithstanding he brought them to *Iames* towne, where they lay some daies, and after were sent home by Captaine *Hamer*, that tooke Corne for their ransome, and after set saile for New found Land.

The King set at liberty.

But, alas the cause of this was onely this
They vnderstood, nor knew what was amisse.

A digression. Euer since the beginning of these Plantations, it hath beene supposed the King of *Spaine* would inuade them, or our English Papists indeuour to dissolue them. But neither all the Counsels of *Spaine*, nor Papists in the world could haue deuised a better course to bring them all to ruine, then thus to abuse their friends, nor could there euer haue beene a better plot, to haue ouerthrowne *Opechankanough* then Captaine *Croshaws*, had it beene fully managed with expedition. But it seemes God is angry to see *Virginia* made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory.

Their proceedings of the other plantations. Amongst the rest of the Plantations all this Summer [1622] little was done, but securing themselues and planting Tobacco, which passes there as current Siluer, and by the

oft turning and winding it, some grow rich, but many poore: notwithstanding ten or twelue ships or more hath arriued there since the massacre [22 *Mar.*], although it was Christmas [1622] ere any returned [*i.e., to England*], and that returne greatly reuiued all mens longing expectation here in *England:* for they brought newes, that notwithstanding their extreme sicknesse many were recouered, and finding [*found*] the Saluages did not much trouble them, except it were sometimes some disorderly straglers they cut off. [1622]

To lull them the better in securitie, they sought no reuenge till their Corne was ripe, then they drew together three hundred of the best Souldiers they could, that would leaue their priuate businesse, and aduenture themselues amongst the Saluages to surprise their Corne, vnder the conduct of Sir *George Yearley*, being imbarked in conuenient shipping, and all things necessary for the enterprise; they went first to *Nandsamund*, where the people set fire on their owne houses, and spoiled what they could, and then fled with what they could carry; so that the English did make no slaughter amongst them for reuenge. Their Corne fields being newly gathered, they surprized all they found, burnt the houses [that] remained vnburnt, and so departed. 300 surpriseth *Nandsamund.*

Quartering about *Kecoughtan*, after the Watch was set, *Samuell Collyer* one of the most ancientest Planters, and very well acquainted with their language and habitation, humors and conditions, and Gouernor of a Towne, when the Watch was set, going the round, vnfortunately by a Centinell that discharged his peece, was slaine. [**158**] *Samuell Collyer* slaine. [*pp.* 94, 449.]

Thence they sailed to *Pamavuke*, the chiefe seat of *Opechankanough*, the contriuer of the massacre: the Saluages seemed exceeding fearefull, promising to bring them *Sara*, and the rest of the English yet liuing, with all the Armes, and what they had to restore, much desiring peace, and to giue them any satisfaction they could. Many such deuices they fained to procrastinate the time ten or twelue daies, till they had got away their Corne from all the other places vp the Riuer, but that where the English kept their quarter: at last, when they saw all those promises were but delusions, they seised on all the Corne there was, set fire on their houses: and in following the Saluages that fled They surprise *Pamavuke* [*p.* 593.]

[1622] before them, some few of those naked Deuils had that spirit, they lay in ambuscado, and as our men marched discharged some shot out of English peeces, and hurt some of them flying at their pleasures where they listed, burning their empty houses before them as they went, to make themselues sport: so they escaped, and Sir *George* returned with Corne, where for our paines we had three bushels apeece, but we were enioyned before we had it, to pay ten shillings the bushell for fraught and other charges.

Thus by this meanes the Saluages are like as they report, to endure no small misery this Winter, and that some of our men are returned to their former Plantations.

The opinion of Captaine *Smith.*

What other passages or impediments hapned in their proceedings, that they were not fully reuenged of the Saluages before they returned, I know not; nor could [I] euer heare more, but that they supposed they slew two, and how it was impossible for any men to doe more then they did: yet worthy *Ferdinando Courtus* had scarce three hundred *Spaniards* to conquer the great Citie of *Mexico*, where thousands of Saluages dwelled in strong houses.

But because they were a ciuilised people, had wealth, and those meere Barbarians as wilde as beasts haue nothing; I intreat your patience to tell you my opinion: which if it be Gods pleasure I shall not liue to put in practice, yet it [*p.* 535.] may be hereafter vsefull for some; but howsoeuer I hope not hurtfull to any, and this it is.

How to subiect all the Saluages in Virginia.

Had these three hundred men beene at my disposing, I would haue sent first one hundred to Captaine *Rawley Chroshaw* to *Patawomek*, with some small Ordnance for the Fort, the which but with daily exercising them, would haue struck that loue and admiration into the *Patawomeks*, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not farre off, and most seated vpon the other side the Riuer, they would willingly haue beene friends, or haue giuen any composition they could, before they would be tormented with such a visible feare.

Now though they be generally perfidious, yet necessity constraines those to a kinde of constancy because of their enemies, and neither my selfe that first found them,

Captaine *Argall*, *Chroshaw*, nor *Hamar*, neuer found themselues in fifteene yeares trials [1608–1623]: nor is it likely now they would haue so hostaged their men, suffer the building of a Fort, and their women and children amongst them, had they intended any villany; but suppose they had, who would haue desired a better aduantage then such an aduertisement, to haue prepared the Fort for such an assault, and surely it must be a poore Fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but fiue men in it [that] durst discharge a peece: Therefore a man not well knowing their conditions, may be as wel too iealous as too carelesse. [1622]

Such another Lope Skonce would I haue had at *Onawmanient*, and one hundred men more to haue made such another at *Atquacke* vpon the Riuer of *Toppahanock*, which is not past thirteene miles distant from *Onawmanient*: each of which twelue men would keepe, as well as twelue thousand, and spare all the rest to bee imploied as there should be occasion. And all this with these numbers might easily haue beene done, if not by courtesie, yet by compulsion, especially at that time of September when all their fruits were ripe, their beasts fat, and infinite numbers of wilde Fowle began to repaire to euery creeke, that men if they would doe any thing, could not want victuall.

This done, there remained yet one hundred who should haue done the like at *Ozinieke*, vpon the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, not past six [**159**] miles from the chiefe habitations of *Opechankanough*. These small Forts had beene cause sufficient to cause all the Inhabitants of each of those Riuers to looke to themselues.

Then hauing so many Ships, Barks, and Boats in *Virginia* as there was at that present, with what facility might you haue landed two hundred and twentie men, if you had but onely fiue or six Boats in one night; forty to range the branch of *Mattapanyent*, fortie more that of *Youghtanund*, and fortie more to keepe their randiuous at *Pamavuke* it selfe. All which places lie so neere, they might heare from each other within foure or fiue houres; and not any of those small parties, if there were any valour, discretion, or industry in them, but as sufficient as foure thousand, to force them all to contribution, or take or spoile all they had. For hauing thus so many conuenient randeuous to releeue each other,

[1622] though all the whole Countries had beene our enemies, where could they rest, but in the depth of Winter we might burne all the houses vpon all those Riuers in two or three daies? Then without fires they could not liue, which they could not so hide but wee should finde, and quickly so tire them with watching and warding, they would be so weary of their liues, as either fly [from] all their Countries, or giue all they had to be released of such an hourely misery.

Now if but a small number of the Saluages would assist vs, as there is no question but diuers of them would; And to suppose they could not be drawne to such faction, were to beleeue they are more vertuous then many Christians, and the best gouerned people in the world. All the *Pamavukes* might haue beene dispatched as well in a moneth as a yeare, and then to haue dealt with any other enemies at our pleasure, and yet made all this toile and danger but a recreation.

If you think this strange or impossible, 12 men with my selfe I found sufficient, to goe where I would adaies, and surprise a house with the people, if not a whole towne, in a night, or incounter all the power they could make, as a whole Army, as formerly at large hath beene related: And it seemes by these small parties last amongst them, by Captaine *Crashow*, *Hamar*, and *Madyson*, they are not growne to that excellency in policy and courage but they might bee encountred, and their wiues and children apprehended. [*pp.* 142, 458.]

I know I shall bee taxed for writing so much of my selfe: but I care not much, because the iudiciall know there are few such Souldiers as are my examples, haue writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better then my selfe.

Some againe finde as much fault with the Company for medling with so many Plantations together, because they that haue many Irons in the fire some must burne; but I thinke no if they haue men enow know how to worke them, but howsoeuer, it were better some burne then haue none at all. The King of *Spaine* regards but how many powerfull Kingdomes he keepes vnder his obedience, and for the Saluage Countries he hath subiected, they are more then

enow for a good Cosmographer to nominate, and is three Mole-hills so much to vs; and so many Empires so little for him? For my owne part, I cannot chuse but grieue, that the actions of an Englishman should be inferior to any, and that the command of *England* should not be as great as any Monarchy that euer was since the world began, I meane not as a Tyrant to torment all Christendome, but to suppresse her disturbers, and conquer her enemies. [1622-3]

For the great Romans *got into their hand*
The whole worlds compasse, both by Sea and Land,
Or any seas, or heauen, or earth extended,
And yet that Nation could not be contented.

The arriuall of Captaine *Butler*, and his accidents.

Much about this time, arriued a small Barke of *Barnestable*, which had beene at the *Summer Iles*, and in her Captaine *Nathaniel Butler*, who hauing beene Gouernour there three yeares, and his Commission expired, he tooke the opportunity of this ship to see *Virginia* [*p.* 685]. At *Iames* Towne he was kindly entertained [**160**] by Sir *Francis Wyat* the Gouernour.

After he had rested there fourteene daies, he fell vp with his ship to the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, where meeting Captaine *William Powell*, ioyning together such forces as they had to the number of eighty, they set vpon the *Chickahamanians*, that fearefully fled, suffering the English to spoile all they had, not daring to resist them.

Thus he returned to *Iames* towne, where hee staied a moneth, at *Kecoughtan* as much more, and so returned for *England* [*Feb.* 1623].

A strange deliuerance of Master *Argent* and others.

But riding at *Kecoughtan*, Master *Iohn Argent*, sonne to Doctor *Argent*, a young Gentleman that went with Captaine *Butler* from *England* to this place, *Michael Fuller*, *William Gany*, *Cornelius May*, and one other going ashore with some goods late in a faire euening, such a sudden gust did arise, that driue [*drove*] them thwart the Riuer, in that place at least three or foure miles in bredth, where the shore was so shallow at a low water, and the Boat beating vpon the Sands, they left her, wading neere halfe a mile, and oft vp to the chin. So well it hapned, Master *Argent* had put his Bandileir of powder in his hat, which next God

[1623] was all their preseruations: for it being February [1623], and the ground so cold, their bodies became so benumbed, they were not able to strike fire with a steele and a stone hee had in his pocket; the stone they lost twice, and thus those poore soules groping in the darke, it was Master *Argents* chance to finde it, and with a few withered leaues, reeds, and brush, make a small fire, being vpon the *Chisapeaks* shore, their mortall enemies, great was their feare to be discouered.

The ioyfull morning appearing, they found their Boat and goods driue[n] ashore, not farre from them, but so split shee was vnseruiceable: but so much was the frost, their clothes did freeze vpon their backs, for they durst not make any great fire to dry them, lest thereby the bloudy Saluages might discry them, so that one of them died the next day; and the next night, digging a graue in the Sands with their hands, buried him.

In this bodily feare they liued and fasted two daies and nights, then two of them went into the Land to seeke fresh water; the others to the Boat to get some meale and oyle. *Argent* and his Comrado found a Canow, in which they resolued to aduenture to their ship, but shee was a drift in the Riuer before they returned. Thus frustrate of all hopes, Captaine *Butler* the third night ranging the shore in his Boat to seeke them, discharged his Muskets; but they supposing it some Saluages [that] had got some English peeces, they grew more perplexed then euer: so he returned and lost his labour.

The fourth day they vnloaded their Boat, and stopping her leakes with their handkerchiefes, and other rags, two rowing, and two bailing out the water; but farre they went not ere the water grew vpon them so fast, and they so tired, they thought themselues happy to be on shore againe, though they perceiued the *Indians* were not farre off by their fires.

Thus at the very period of despaire, *Fuller* vndertooke to sit a stride vpon a little peece of an old Canow; so well it pleased God the wind and tide serued, by padling with his hands and feet in the water, beyond all expectation God so guided him three or foure houres vpon this boord, [that] he arriued at their ship, where they no lesse

amazed, then he tired they tooke him in. Presently as [1622-3]
he had concluded with his Companions, he caused them discharge a peece of Ordnance if he escaped: which gaue no lesse comfort to Master *Argent* and the rest, then terror to those Plantations that heard it, (being late) at such an vnexpected alarum; but after, with warme clothes and a little strong water, they had a little recouered him, such was his courage and care of his distressed friends, he returned that night againe with Master *Felgate* to conduct him to them: and so giuing thanks to God for so hopelesse a deliuerance, it pleased his Diuine power, both they and their prouision came safely aboord, but *Fuller* they doubt will neuer recouer his benumbed legs and thighes.

Now before *Butlers* arriuall in *England*, many hard speeches were rumored against him for so leauing his charge, before he receiued order from the Company. Diuers againe of his Souldiers as highly commended him, for his good government, [**161**] art, iudgement and industry.

But to make the misery of *Virginia* appeare that it might be reformed in time, how all those Cities, Townes, Corporations, Forts, Vineyards, Nurseries of Mulberies, Glasse-houses, Iron forges, Guest-houses, Silke-wormes, Colleges, the Companies great estate, and that plenty some doe speake of here, are rather things in words and paper then in effect, with diuers reasons of the causes of those defects; if it were false, his blame nor shame could not be too much: but if there bee such defects in the gouernment, and distresse in the Colony, it is thought by many it hath beene too long concealed, and requireth rather reformation then disputation: but howeuer, it were not amisse to prouide for the worst, for the best will help it selfe. Notwithstanding, it was apprehended so hardly, and examined with that passion, that the bru[i]te thereof was spread abroad with that expedition, it did more hurt then the massacre; and the fault of all now by the vulgar rumour, must be attributed to the vnwholesomnesse of the ayre, and barrennesse of the Countrey: as though all *England* were naught, because the Fens and Marshes are vnhealthy; or barren, because some will lie vnder windowes and starue in Cheapside, rot in Goales, die in the street, high-waies, or any

[1623] where, and vse a thousand deuices to maintaine themselues in those miseries, rather then take any paines to liue as they may by honest labour, and a great part of such like are the Planters of *Virginia*, and partly the occasion of those defailements.

1623. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer.

How Captaine *Spilman* was left in the Riuer of *Patawomek*.

In the latter end of this last yeare, or the beginning of this, Captaine *Henrie Spilman* a Gentleman, that hath liued in those Countries thirteene or fourteene yeares [1609–1622, see *pp.* 172, 498, 503, 528, 606], one of the best Interpreters in the Land, being furnished with a Barke and six and twentie men, hee was sent to trucke in the Riuer of *Patawomek*, where he had liued a long time amongst the Saluages.

Whether hee presumed too much vpon his acquaintance amongst them, or they sought to be reuenged of any for the slaughter made amongst them by the English so lately [*p.* 598], or hee sought to betray them, or they him, are all seueral relations, but it seemes but imaginary: for they [who] returned, report they left him ashore about *Patawomek*, but the name of the place they knew not, with one and twentie men, being but fiue in the Barke.

The Saluages, ere they suspected any thing, boorded them with their Canowes, and entred so fast, the English were amazed, till a Sailer gaue fire to a peece of Ordnance onely at randome; at the report whereof, the Saluages leapt ouer-boord, so distracted with feare, they left their Canowes and swum a shore; and presently after they heard a great bru[i]te amongst the Saluages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke. Whereupon they weighed Anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine, is vncertaine.

Thus things proceed and vary not a iot,
Whether we know them, or we know them not.

A particular of such necessaries as either priuate families, or single persons, shall haue cause to prouide to goe to *Virginia*, whereby greater numbers may in part conceiue the better how to prouide for themselues.

[1623]

Apparell.

Apparrell for one man, and so after the rate for more.

Monmoth Cap	1*s.* 10*d.*
3 falling bands.	1*s.* 3*d.*
3 shirts.	7*s.* 6*d.*
1 Waste-coat.	2*s.* 2*d.*
1 suit of Canuase.	7*s.* 6*d.*
1 suit of Frize.	10*s.*
1 suit of Cloth.	15*s.*
3 paire of Irish stockings.	4*s.*
4 paire of shooes.	8*s.* 8*d.*
1 paire of garters.	10*d.*
1 dozen of points. [162]	3*d.*
1 paire of Canuas sheets.	8*s.*
7 ells of Canuas to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in *Virginia*, seruing for two men.	8*s.*
5 ells of course Canuas to make a bed at Sea for two men.	5*s.*
1 course rug at sea for two men.	6*s.*

l. [*i.e.*, for *one* man.]

[1623] *Victuall for a whole yeare for a man, and so after the rate for more.*

8 bushels of meale.	2*l.*
2 bushels of pease.	6*s.*
2 bushels of Ote-meale.	9*s.*
1 gallon of *Aqua-vitæ*.	2*s.* 6*d.*
1 gallon of oyle.	3*s.* 6*d.*
2 gallons of Vine-ger.	2*s.*
	3*l.* 3*s.*

Armes for a man; but if halfe your men be armed it is well, so all haue swords and peeces.

1 Armor compleat, light.	17*s.*
1 long peece fiue foot and a halfe, neere Musket bore.	1*l.* 2*s.*
1 Sword.	5*s.*
1 Belt.	1*s.*
1 Bandilier.	1*s.* 6*d.*
20 pound of powder.	18*s.*
60 pound of shot or Lead, Pistoll and Goose shot.	5*s.*
	3*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

Tooles for a family of six persons, and so after the rate for more.

5 broad howes at 2*s.* a peece.	10*s.*
5 narrow howes at 16*d.* a peece	6*s.* 8*d.*
2 broad axes at 3*s.* 8*d.* a peece.	7*s.* 4*d.*
5 felling axes at 18*d.* a peece	7*s.* 6*d.*
2 steele handsawes at 16*d.* a peece.	2*s.* 8*d.*
2 two handsawes at 5*s.* a peece.	10*s.*
1 whipsaw, set and filed; with box, file and wrest.	10*s.*
2 hammers 12*d.* a peece.	2*s.*
3 shouels at 18*d.* a peece.	4*s.* 6*d.*
2 spades at 18*d.* a peece.	3*s.*
2 Augers at 6*d.* peece.	1*s.*
6 Chissels at 6*d.* a peece.	3*s.*
2 Percers stocked [at] 4*d.* a peece.	8*d.*
3 Gimblets at 2*d.* a peece.	6*d.*
2 Hatchets at 21*d.* a peece.	3*s.* 6*d.*
2 frowes to cleaue pale 18*d.* each.	3*s.*
2 hand Bills 20*d.* a peece.	3*s.* 4*d.*
1 Grindstone.	4*s.*
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	2*l.*
2 Pickaxes.	3*s.*
	6*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

Houshold implements for a family and six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

1 Iron pot.	7*s.*
1 Kettell.	6*s.*
1 large Frying-pan.	2*s.* 6*d.*
1 Gridiron.	1*s.* 6*d.*
2 Skellets.	5*s.*
1 Spit.	2*s.*
Platters, dishes, spoones of wood.	4*s.*
	1*l.* 8*s.*

[1623]

For Sugar, Spice, and Fruit, and at Sea for six men. 12*s.* 6*d.*

So the full charge after this rate for each person, will amount to about the summe of 12*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

The passage of each man is 6*l.*

The fraught of these prouisions for a man, will be about halfe a tun, which is 1*l.* 10*s.*

So the whole charge will amount to about 20*l.*

Now if the number be great; [not only] Nets, Hooks, and Lines, but Cheese, Bacon, Kine and Goats must be added.

And this is the vsuall proportion the *Virginia* Company doe bestow vpon their Tenents they send.

A briefe relation written by Captaine *Smith* to his Maiesties Commissioners for the reformation of *Virginia*, concerning some aspersions against it.

[1624] HOnourable Gentlemen, for so many faire and Nauigable Riuers so neere adioyning, and piercing thorow so faire a naturall Land, free from any inundations, or large Fenny vnwholsome Marshes, I haue not seene, read, nor heard of: And for the building of Cities, Townes, and Wharfage, if they will vse the meanes, where there is no more ebbe nor floud, Nature in few places affoords any so conuenient. For salt Marshes or Quagmires, [**163**] in this tract of *Iames* Towne Riuer I know very few; some small Marshes and Swamps there are, but more profitable than hurtfull: and I thinke there is more low Marsh ground betwixt *Eriffe* and *Chelsey*, then *Kecoughton* and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the course of the Riuer.

The causes of our first miseries.

Being enioyned by our Commission not to vnplant nor wrong the Saluages, because the channell was so neere the shore, where now is *Iames* Towne, then a thick groue of trees; wee cut them downe, where the Saluages pretending as much kindnesse as could bee, they hurt and slew one and twenty of vs in two houres. At this time our diet was for most part water and bran, and three ounces of little

better stuffe in bread for fiue men a meale; and thus we liued neere three moneths: our lodgings vnder boughes of trees, the Saluages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor vnderstood; occasions I thinke sufficient to make men sicke and die. [1607–8]

Necessity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try conclusions amongst the Saluages, that we got prouision which recouered the rest being most sicke. Six weeks [*see p.* 531] I was led captiue by those Barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled; yet it pleased God to make their great Kings daughter the means to returne me safe to *Iames* towne, and releeue our wants: and then [8 *Jan.* 1608] our Common-wealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and fiue. But 38 English in all *Virginia*.

Being supplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelue men in a boat of three tuns, I spent fourteene weeks in [2 *June*—21 *July, and* 24 *July*—7 *Sept.* 1608] those large waters; the contents of the way of my boat protracted by the skale of proportion, was about three thousand miles, besides the Riuer we dwell vpon: where no Christian knowne euer was, and our diet for the most part what we could finde, yet but one died. Proofes of the healthfulnesse of the Countrey.

The Saluages being acquainted, that by command from *England* we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions; cause *Powhatan* [to] fly his Countrey, and take the King of *Pamavnke* Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of *Paspahegh* in shackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied vs contribution, and the offending Saluages sent to *Iames* towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares [*Oct.* 1607—*Oct.* 1609] I staied there, I had not a man slaine. How the Saluages became subiected.

All those conclusions being not able to preuent the bad euents of pride and idlenesse, hauing receiued another supply of seuentie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: In following the strict directions from *England* to doe that was impossible at that time; So it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat but what the Countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who liued vpon Oysters in Iune and Iuly [1609], with a How we liued of the natural fruits of the Countrey.

[1608-9] pint of corne a week for a man lying vnder trees, and 120 for the most part liuing vpon Sturgion, which was dried til we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks [1 *May*—10 *July* 1609] but seuen died.

Proofe of the Commodities we returned.

It is true, we had of Tooles, Armes, and Munition sufficient, some *Aquavitæ*, Vineger, Meale, Pease, and Otemeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not sufficient for six moneths; though by the bils of loading the proportions sent vs, would well haue contented vs: notwithstanding we sent home ample proofes of Pitch, Tar, Sope Ashes, Wainskot, Clapboord, Silke grasse, Iron Ore, some Sturgion and Glasse, Saxefras, Cedar, Cypris, and blacke Walnut; crowned *Powhatan*; sought the *Monacans* Countrey, according to the instructions sent vs, but they caused vs [to] neglect more necessary workes: they had better haue giuen for Pitch and Sope ashes one hundred pound a tun in *Denmarke:* Wee also maintained fiue or six seuerall Plantations.

What we built.

[*A.* 957.]

Iames towne being burnt [*Jan.* 1608], wee rebuilt it and three Forts more: besides the Church and Store-house, we had about fortie or fiftie seuerall houses to keepe vs warme and dry, inuironed with a palizado of foureteene or fifteene foot, and each as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire Well of fresh water in the Fort, where wee had three Bulwarks, foure and twentie peece[s] of Ordnance [**164**] (of Culuering, Demiculuering, Sacar and Falcon), and most well mounted vpon conuenient plat-formes: [and] planted one hundred acres of Corne. We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred seuenty seuen men, boies, and women: by whose labours *Virginia* being brought to this kinde of perfection, the most difficulties past, and the foundation thus laid by this small meanes; yet because we had done no more, they called in our Commission, tooke a new in their owne names, and appointed vs neere as many offices and Officers as I had Souldiers, that neither knew vs nor wee them, without our consents or knowledge.

Since [*by* 1624], there haue gone more then one hundred ships of other proportions, and eight or ten thousand people.

Now if you please to compare what hath beene spent,

sent, discouered, and done this fifteene yeares [1609–1624], by that we did in the three first yeares: and [that] euery Gouernor that hath beene there since, giue you but such an account as this, you may easily finde what hath beene the cause of those disasters in *Virginia*. [1608–1624]

Then came [*about* 10 *July* 1609] in Captaine *Argall*, and Master *Sedan*, in a ship of Master *Cornelius*, to fish for Sturgion; who had such good prouision, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furnished then euer.

Not long after came in seuen ships [11—14 *August* 1609], with about three hundred people; but rather to supplant vs then supply vs: their Admirall with their authoritie being cast away in the *Bermudas*, very angry they were we had made no better prouision for them. Seuen or eight weekes [11 *Aug.*—4 *Oct.* 1609] we withstood the invndations of these disorderly humors, till I was neere blowne to death with Gun-powder, which occasioned me to returne for *England*.

How I left the Country.

In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas [*viz.*, *on Oct.* 4, *see p.* xcviii], I left the Countrey, as is formerly related, with three ships, seuen Boats, Commodities to trade, haruest newly gathered, eight weeks prouision of Corne and Meale, about fiue hundred persons, three hundred Muskets, shot powder and match with armes for more men then we had. The Saluages their language and habitation well knowne to two hundred expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing, tooles of all sorts, apparell to supply their wants: six Mares and a Horse, fiue or six hundred Swine, many more Powltry, what was brought or bred, but [*except*] victuall, there remained.

My charge.

Hauing spent some fiue yeares [1604–1609], and more then fiue hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus these nineteene yeares [1603–1624] I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue beene preuented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleeue me till now too deerely they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left

[1624] My reward. all then vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all. And though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of *Virginia*, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence; and beare with their errors till I haue done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirme them both there and here, vpon such grounds as I haue propounded: which is to haue but fifteene hundred men to subdue againe the Saluages, fortifie the Countrey, discouer that yet vnknowne, and both defend and feed their Colony, which I most humbly refer to his Maiesties most iudiciall iudgement, and the most honourable Lords of his [165] Priuy Councill, you his trusty and well-beloued Commissioners, and the Honourable company of Planters and well-willers to *Virginia*, *New-England* and *Sommer-Ilands*.

Out of these Obseruations it pleased his Maiesties Commissioners for the reformation of *Virginia*, to desire my answer to these seuen Questions.

Quest. 1. *WHat conceiue you is the cause the Plantation hath prospered no better since you left it in so good a forwardnesse ?* [1624]

Answ. Idlenesse and carelesnesse brought all I did in three yeeres, in six moneths to nothing; and of fiue hundred I left, scarce threescore remained; and had Sir *Thomas Gates* not got from the *Bermudas*, I thinke they had beene all dead before they could be supplied.

Quest. 2. *What conceiue you should be the cause, though the Country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco ?*

Answ. The oft altering of Gouernours it seemes causes euery man [to] make vse of his time, and because Corne was stinted at two shillings six pence the bushell, and Tobacco at three shillings the pound; and they value a mans labour a yeere worth fifty or threescore pound, but in Corne not worth ten pound, presuming Tobacco will furnish them with all things: now make a mans labour in Corne worth threescore pound, and in Tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they haue Corne sufficient to entertaine all commers, and

[1624] keepe their people in health to doe any thing; but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

Quest. 3. *What conceiue you to haue beene the cause of the Massacre, and had the Saluages had the vse of any peeces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?*

Answ. The cause of the Massacre was the want of marshall discipline; and because they would haue all the English had by destroying those they found so carelesly secure, that they were not prouided to defend themselues against any enemy; being so dispersed as they were. In my time, though Captaine *Nuport* furnished them with swords by truck, and many fugitiues did the like, and some Peeces they got accidentally: yet I got the most of them againe; and it was death to him that should shew a Saluage the vse of a Peece. Since, I vnderstand, they became so good shot, they were imployed for Fowlers and Huntsmen by the English.

Quest. 4. *What charge thinke you would haue setled the gouernment both for defence and planting when you left it?*

Answ. Twenty thousand pound would haue hyred good labourers and mechanicall men, and haue furnished them [*pp.* 487,930. with cattle and all necessaries; and 100. of them would haue done more then a thousand of those that went: though the Lord *Laware*, Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dale* were perswaded to the contrary; but when they had tried, they confessed their error.

Quest. 5. *What conceiue you would be the remedy and the charge?*

Answ. The remedy is to send Souldiers and all sorts of labourers and necessaries for them, that they may be there by next *Michaelmas* [1624], the which to doe well will stand you in fiue thousand pound: but if his Maiesty would please to lend two of his Ships to transport them, lesse would serue; besides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Quest. 6. *What thinke you are the defects of the gouernment both here and there?*

Answ. The multiplicity of opinions here, and Officers there, makes such delaies by questions and formalitie, that as much time is spent in complement as in action; [**166**] besides, some are so desirous to imploy their ships, hauing

six pounds for euery Passenger, and three pounds for euery tun of goods, at which rate a thousand ships may now better be procured then one at the first, when the common stocke defrayed all fraughts, wages, prouisions and Magazines, whereby the Ships are so pestred, as occasions much sicknesse, diseases and mortality: for though all the Passengers die they are sure of their fraught; and then all must be satisfied with Orations, disputations, excuses and hopes. [1624]

As for the letters of aduice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written, men would beleeue there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were wel, to which error here they haue beene euer much subiect; and there not to beleeue, or not to releeue the true and poore estate of that Colony, whose fruits were commonly spent before they were ripe, and this losse is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the losse of their aduentures, and so they thinke, or will not take notice; but it is so with all men.

But howsoeuer they thinke or dispose of all things at their pleasure, I am sure not my selfe onely, but a thousand others haue not onely spent the most of their estates, but the most part haue lost their liues and all, onely but to make way for the triall of more new conclusions: and he that now will aduenture but twelue pounds ten shillings, shall haue better respect and as much fauour then he that sixteene yeere agoe [*in* 1609] aduentured as much, except he haue money as the other hath; but though he haue aduentured fiue hundred pound, and spent there neuer so much time, if hee haue no more and [be] not able to begin a family of himselfe, all is lost by order of Court.

But in the beginning it was not so, all went then out of one purse, till those new deuices haue consumed both mony and purse; for at first there were but six Patentees, now more then a thousand; then but thirteene Counsailors, now not lesse then an hundred: I speake not of all, for there are some both honourable and honest, but of those Officers which did they manage their owne estates no better then the affaires of *Virginia*, they would quickly fall to decay so well as it. But this is most euident, few Officers in *England* it hath caused to turne Banquerupts, nor for all their complaints would [they] leaue their places; neither

[1624] yet any of their Officers there, nor few of the rest but they would be at home. But fewer Aduenturers here will aduenture any more till they see the businesse better established, although there be some so wilfully improuident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or want themselues, they die or liue but poorely for want of necessaries, and to thinke the old Planters can releeue them were too much simplicity; for who here in *England* is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, haue they neuer so much; much lesse in *Virginia* where they want for themselues. Now the generall complaint saith, that pride, couetousnesse, extortion and oppression in a few that ingrosses all, then sell all againe to the comminalty at what rate they please (yea euen men, women and children for who will giue most), occasions no small mischiefe amongst the Planters.

As for the Company, or those that doe transport them, prouided of necessaries, God forbid but they should receiue their charges againe with aduantage, or that masters there should not haue the same priuilege ouer their seruants as here: but to sell him or her for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the Company hath sent ouer for eight or ten pounds at the most, without regard how they shall be maintained with apparell, meat, drinke and lodging, is odious, and their fruits su[i]table: therefore such merchants it were better they were made such merchandize themselues, then suffered any longer to vse that trade, and those are defects sufficient to bring a well setled Common-wealth to misery, much more *Virginia*.

Quest. 7. *How thinke you it may be rectified?*

Answ. If his Maiestie would please to intitle [*resume*] it to his Crowne, and yearely that both the Gouernours here and there may giue their accounts to you, or some that are not ingaged in the businesse, that the common stocke bee not spent in [**167**] maintaining one hundred men for the Gouernour, one hundred for two Deputies, fifty for the Treasurer, fiue and twenty for the Secretary, and more for the Marshall and other Officers who were neuer there nor aduentured any thing; but onely preferred by fauour to be Lords ouer them that broke the ice and beat the path, and must teach them what to doe. If any thing happen well, it

is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers must endure the worst, yet not fiue hundred of them haue so much as one of the others. [1624]

Also that there bee some present course taken to maintaine a Garrison to suppresse the Saluages, till they be able to subsist, and that his Maiesty would please to remit his custome; or it is to be feared they will lose custome and all, for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and meanes to maintaine them: not such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in *England*. Yet when the foundation is laid, as I haue said, and a common-wealth established, then such there may better be constrained to labour then here; but to rectifie a common-wealth with debaushed people is impossible, and no wise man would throw himselfe into such a society, that intends honestly, and knowes what he vndertakes. For there is no Country to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence must be by labour.

For the gouernment I thinke there is as much adoe about it as the Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, men here conceiting *Virginia* as they are, erecting as many stately Offices as Officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the Countrey: where a Constable were as good as twenty of their Captaines; and three hundred good Souldiers and labourers better then all the rest, that goe onely to get the fruits of other mens labours by the title of an office. Thus they spend *Michaelmas* rent in *Mid-summer* Moone, and would gather their Haruest before they haue planted their Corne.

As for the maintenance of the Officers, the first that went neuer demanded any, but aduentured good summes: and it seemes strange to me, the fruits of all their labours, besides the expence of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and such multitudes of people, those collaterall Officers could not maintaine themselues so well as the old did; and hauing now such liberty to doe to the Saluages what they will, [which] the others had not.

I more then wonder they haue not fiue hundred Saluages to worke for them towards their generall maintenance; and as many more to returne some content and satisfaction

[1624] to the Aduenturers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can heare nor see nothing but miserable complaints: therefore vnder your correction to rectifie all, [it] is with all expedition to passe the authority to them who will releeue them, lest all bee consumed ere the differences be determined.

And except his Maiestie vndertake it, or by Act of Parlament some small tax may be granted throughout his Dominions, as a Penny vpon euery Poll, called a head-penny; two pence vpon euery Chimney, or some such collection might be raised, and that would be sufficient to giue a good stocke, and many seruants to sufficient men of any facultie, and transport them freely for paying onely homage to the Crowne of *England*, and such duties to the publike good as their estates increased, [as] reason should require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you please, for all those disasters would yet gladly goe to spend their liues there, and by this meanes more good might be done in one yeere, then all those pe[t]ty particular vndertakings will effect in twenty.

For the Patent the King may, if he please, rather take it from them that haue it, then from vs who had it first; pretending to his Maiesty what great matters they would doe, and how little we did: and for any thing I can conceiue had we remained still as at first, it is not likely we could haue done much worse; but those oft altering of gouernments are not without much charge, hazard and losse.

If I be too plaine, I humbly craue your pardon; but you requested me, therefore I doe but my duty. For the Nobility, who knowes not how freely both in their [**168**] Purses and assistances many of them haue beene to aduance it, committing the managing of the businesse to inferiour persons: amongst whom questionlesse also many haue done their vtmost best, sincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion and vnderstanding; yet grosse errors haue beene committed, but no man liues without his fault. For my owne part, I haue so much adoe to amend my owne, I haue no leisure to looke into any mans particular [*i.e.*, *fault*], but those [*faults*] in generall I conceiue to be true. And so I humbly rest Yours to command,

I. S.

THus those discords, not being to be compounded among themselues; nor yet by the extraordinary diligences, care and paines of the noble and right worthy Commissioners, Sir *William Iones*, Sir *Nicholas Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Goston*, Sir *Richard Sutton*, Sir *Henry Bourgchier* and Sir *William Pit*: a Corante was granted against Master Deputy *Farrar*, and 20. or 30. others of that party, to plead their causes before the right Honourable the Lords of His Maiesties Priuy Councell. [1624] The King hath pleased to take it into his consideration.

Now notwithstanding all the Relations, Examinations, and intercepting of all Letters whatsoeuer [that] came from thence, yet it seemes they were so farre vnsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preseruation of the Colony, as to giue content and doe all men right, [that] they sent two Commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the Colony.

Vpon whose returne after mature deliberation, it pleased his royall Maiesty to suppresse the course of the Court at Deputy *Farrars*: and that for the present ordering the affaires of *Virginia*, vntill he should make a more full settlement thereof, the Lord Viscount *Mandeuile*, Lord President of his Maiesties Priuie Councell, and also other Priuy Councellors, with many vnderstanding Knights and Gentlemen, should euery Thursday in the afternoone meet at Sir *Thomas Smiths* in *Philpot lane*: where all men whom it should concerne may repaire, to receiue such directions and warrant for their better security; as more at large you may see in the Proclamation to that effect, vnder the great Seale of *England*, dated the 15. of Iuly, 1624.

[1624] But as for the relations last returned, what numbers they are, how many Cities, Corporations, townes, and houses, cattle and horse they haue; what fortifications or discoueries they haue made, or reuenge vpon the Saluages; who are their friends or foes; or what commodities they haue more then Tobacco; and their present estate or what is presently to be put in execution: in that the Commissioners are not yet fully satisfied in the one, nor resolued in the other, at this present time when this went to the Presse, I must intreat you pardon me till I be better assured.

Thus far I haue trauelled in this Wildernesse of *Virginia*, not being ignorant [that] for all my paines, this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaues [*The first four Books of this* General History, *occupy* 168 *leaves*]; that I haue writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like obiections.

To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any haue concealed their approued experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me: as for euery fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leaue them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome? Ah! were these my accusers but to change cases and places with me but 2. yeeres, or till they had done but so much as I, it may be they would iudge more charitably of my imperfections.

But here I must leaue all to the triall of time, both my selfe, *Virginia's* preparations, proceedings and good euents; praying to that great God the protector of all goodnesse to send them as good successe as the goodnesse of the action and Country deserueth, and my heart desireth.

FINIS. [169]

The General History of the Bermudas. 1593–1623.]

[Captain SMITH was never at Bermuda. This part of the *Generall Historie* therefore is clearly a compilation.

Our Author may have made large use of *Sloane MS.* 750, in the British Museum; which has been edited by General Sir J. HENRY LEFROY, R.A., C.B., K.C.M.G., for the Hakluyt Society in 1881, under the title of "*The History of the Bermudas or Somer Islands.* Attributed to Captain JOHN SMITH:" but clearly he was not the Author of that manuscript, which was written apparently by a Governor previous to Governor BUTLER; ? by Governor TUCKER.]



The fifth Booke.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE BERMVDAS, NOW called the *Summer Iles*, from their beginning in the yeere of our Lord 1593. to this present 1624. with their proceedings, accidents and present estate.

[1593–1623]

BEfore we present you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted: for as Geography without History seemeth a carkasse without motion; so History without Geography, wandreth as a Vagrant without a certaine habitation.

The description of the Iles.

Those Ilands lie in the huge maine Ocean, and two hundred leagues from any continent, situated in 32. degrees and 25. minutes, of Northerly latitude, and distant from *England* West South-West, about 3300. miles; some twenty miles in length, and not past two miles and a halfe in breadth, enuironed with Rocks, which to the North-ward, West-ward, and South-East, extend further then they haue bin yet well dis-

[1593–1623] couered: by reason of those Rocks the Country is naturally very strong, for there is but two places, and scar[c]e two vnlesse to them who know them well, where shipping may safely come in, and those now are exceeding well fortified, but within is roome to entertaine a royall Fleet: the Rocks in most places appeare at a low water, neither are they much couered at a high, for it ebbs and flowes not past fiue foot; the shore for most part is a Rocke, so hardened with the sunne, wind and sea, that it is not apt to be worne away with the waues, whose violence is also broke by the Rocks before they can come to the shore.

It is very vneuen, distributed into hills and dales; the mold is of diuers colours, neither clay nor sand, but a meane betweene; the red which resembleth clay is the worst, the whitest resembling sand and the blackest is good, but the browne betwixt them both which they call white, because there is mingled with it a white meale is the best: vnder the mould two or three foot deep, and sometimes lesse, is a kinde of white hard substance which they call the Rocke: the trees vsually fasten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rocke or stone, or so hard, though for most part more harder then Chalke; nor so white, but pumish-like and spungy, easily receiuing and containing much water. In some places Clay is found vnder it, it seemes to be ingendred with raine water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance vnto a certaine depth where it congeales; the hardest kinde of it lies vnder the red ground like quarries, as it were thicke slates one vpon another, through which the water hath his passage, so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water, for all or the most part of the fresh water commeth out of the Sea draining through the sand, or that substance called the Rocke, leauing the salt behinde, it becomes fresh. Sometimes we digged wells of fresh water which we finde in most places, and but three or foure paces from the Sea side, some further, the most part of them would ebbe and flow as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher then the superficies of the sea: and in some places [there are] very strange, darke and cumbersome Caues. [**170**]

The clime temper, and fertility.

The aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, moist, with a moderate heat, very healthfull and apt for

the generation and nourishing of all things, so as many things transported from hence yeeld a farre greater increase, and if it be any liuing thing it becomes fatter and better. [1593-1623]

By this meanes the country is so replenished with Hens and Turkies, within the space of three or foure yeeres, that many of them being neglected, forsake the houses and become wilde, and so liue in great abundance; the like increase there is in Hogs, tame Conies, and other Cattle according to their kindes.

There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause some things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requisite; and though the trees shed their leaues, yet they are alwaies full of greene. The Corne is the same they haue in *Virginia*, and the *West-Indies:* of this and many other things, without plowing or much labour, they haue two Haruests euery yeere. For they set about March, which they gather in Iuly; and againe in August, which they reape in December; and little slips of Fig-trees and Vines doe vsually beare fruit within the yeere, and sometimes in lesse; but we finde not the Grapes as yet come to any perfection: the like fertility it hath in Oranges and Limons, Pomgranates, and other things.

Concerning the serenity and beauty of the skie, it may as truly be said of those Ilands as euer it was said of the Rhodes, that there is no one day throughout the 12. moneths, but that in some houre thereof, the sun lookes singularly and cleere vpon them: for the temperature it is beyond all others most admirable; no cold there is beyond an English Aprill, nor heat much greater then an ordinary Iuly in *France*. So that frost and snow is neuer seene here, nor stinking and infectious mists very seldome; by reason of the maine Ocean, there is some wind stirring that cooles the aire: the winter they haue obserues the time with ours, but the longest daies and nights are shorter then ours almost by two houres.

Trees and Fruits.

We found it at first all ouergrowne with weeds, and plants of seuerall kinds, as many tall and goodly Cedars, infinite store of Palmetoes, numbers of Mulberies, wild Oliue-trees store, with diuers others vnknowne both by

[1593-1623] name and nature, so that as yet they become lost to many vsefull imployments, which time and industry no doubt will one day discouer. And euen already certaine of the most notorious of them haue gotten them appellations from their apparent effects, as

The Prickell Peare. The Prickell-peare which growes like a shrub by the ground, with broad thick leaues, all ouer-armed with long and sharpe dangerous thornes, the fruit being in forme not much vnlike a small greene Peare, and on the outside of the same colour, but within bloud red, and exceeding full of iuice; with graines not much vnlike the Pomgranat, and colouring after its nature.

The poison weed. The poysoned weed is much in shape like our English Iuy, but being but touched, causeth rednesse, itching, and lastly blisters; the which howsoeuer after a while passe away of themselues without further harme: yet because for the time they are somewhat painfull, it hath got it selfe an ill name, although questionlesse of no ill nature.

The red weed. Here is also frequently growing a certaine tall Plant, whose stalke being all ouer couered with a red rinde, is thereupon termed the red weed: the root whereof being soked in any liquor, or but a small quantity of the Iuice drunke alone, procures a very forcible vomit, and yet is generally vsed by the people, and found very effectual against the paines and distempers of the stomacke.

The purging Beane. A kinde of Wood-bind there is likewise by the Sea very commonly to bee found, which runnes vpon trees, twining it selfe like a Vine: the fruit somewhat resembles a Beane, but somewhat flatter, the which any way eaten worketh excellently in the nature of a purge, and though very vehemently, yet without all perill.

The costiue tree. Contrary to this, another small tree there is, which causeth costiuenesse.

There is also a certaine Plant like a bramble bush, which beares a long yellow fruit, hauing the shell very hard, and within it a hard berry, that beaten and taken inwardly purgeth gently.

Red Pepper. There is another fruit much like our Barberies, which being beaten or brused betweene the teeth, sets all the mouth on an extreme heat very terrible for the time, to auoid which they are swallowed downe whole, [171] and

found of the same or better operation then the red Pepper, and thence borroweth the name. [1593–1623]

In the bottome of the Sea there is growing vpon the Rocks a large kinde of Plant in the forme of a Vine leafe, but far more spread with veines in colour of a pale red, very strangely interlaced and wouen one into another, which we call the Feather, but the vertue thereof is altogether vnknowne, but only regarded for the rarity. The Sea feather.

Now besides these naturall productions, prouidences and paines since the Plantation, haue offered diuers other seeds and plants, which the soile hath greedily imbraced and cherished: so that at this present 1623. there are great abundance of white, red, and yellow coloured Potatoes, Tobacco, Sugarcanes, Indicos, Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, the American bread, the Cassado root, the Indian Pumpian, the Water-millon, Musk-millon, and the most delicate Pine-apples, Plantans, and Papawes; also the English Artichoke, Pease, &c.: briefly whatsoeuer else may be expected for the satisfaction either of curiosity, necessity or delight. Fruits transported.

Neither hath the aire for her part been wanting with due supplies of many sorts of Fowles, as the gray and white Hearne, the gray and greene Plouer, some wilde Ducks and Malards, Coots and Red-shankes, Sea-wigions, Gray-bitterns, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds like Sparrowes and Robins which haue lately beene destroyed by the wilde Cats, Wood-pickars: very many Crowes, which since this Plantation are kild, the rest fled or seldome seene except in the most vninhabited places, from whence they are obserued to take their flight about sun set, directing their course towards the North-west, which makes many coniecture there are some more Ilands not far off that way. Sometimes are also seene Falcons and Iar-falcons, Ospraies, a Bird like a Hobby: but because they come seldome, they are held but as passengers. Birds.

But aboue all these, most deseruing obseruation and respect are those two sorts of Birds, the one for the tune of his voice, the other for the effect, called the Cahow, and Egge-bird: [the latter of] which on the first of May, a day constantly obserued, fall a laying infinite store of Eggs neere as big as Hens, vpon certaine small sandie baies especially in Egge-Birds.

[1593-1623] *Coupers* Ile; and although men sit downe amongst them when hundreds haue bin gathered in a morning, yet there is hath stayed amongst them till they haue gathered as many more: they continue this course till *Midsummer*, and so tame and feareles, you must thrust them off from their Eggs with your hand. Then they grow so faint with laying, they suffer them to breed and take infinite numbers of their yong to eat, which are very excellent meat.

Cahowes. The Cahow is a Bird of the night, for all the day she lies hid in holes in the Rocks, where they and their young are also taken with as much ease as may be: but in the night if you but whoop and hollow, they will light vpon you, that with your hands you may chuse the fat and leaue the leane. Those they haue only in winter: their Eggs are as big as hens, but they are speckled, the other white. Master *Norwood* hath taken twenty dozen of them in three or foure houres, and since there hath beene such hauocke made of them, they were neere all destroyed, till there was a strict inhibition for their preseruation.

The Tropicke Bird and the Pemblicos presage-ments. The Tropicke bird is white, as large as a Pullet, with one onely long Feather in her taile, and is seldome seene far distant from other of the Tropicks. Another small Bird there is, because she cries Pemblyco they call her so, she is seldome seene in the day but when she sings, as too oft she doth very clamorously; too true a Prophet she proues of huge winds and boysterous weather.

There were a kinde of small Owles in great abundance, but they are now all slaine or fled: some tame Ducks, Geese and Pigeons there are, but the two latter prosper not.

Of Vermine. Concerning vermine and noisome creatures, there are not many, but onely Rats and Cats there increased since the Plantation, but how they agree together you shall heare hereafter. The Musketas and Flies are also too busie, with a certaine India Bug, called by the Spaniards a Cacarootch, the which creeping into Chests they eat and defile with their ill-sented dung. Also the little Ants in summer time are so troublesome, they are forced to dry their figs vpon high frames, and anoint their feet with tar, wherein they sticke, else they would spoile them all [172] ere they could be dryed. Wormes in the earth also there

are but too many, so that to keepe them from destroying their Corne and Tobacco, they are forced to worme the [1593-1623] euery morning, which is a great labour, else all would be destroyed. Lizards there were many and very large, but now none; and it is said they were destroyed by the Cat. Note. Certaine Spiders also of very large size are found hanging vpon trees, but instead of being any way dangerous as in other places, they are here of a most pleasing aspect, all ouer drest, as it were with Siluer, Gold, and Pearle: and their Webs in the Summer wouen from tree to tree, are generally a perfect raw silke, and that as well in regard of substance as colour; and so strong withall, that diuers Birds bigger than Black-birds, being like Snipes, are often taken and snared in them as a Net. Then what would the Silke-worme doe were shee there to feede vpon the continuall greene Mulbery?

But aboue all the rest of the Elements, the Sea is found most abundantly liberall: hence haue they as much excellent Fish, and as much variety as need be desired. The most of which being vnknowne to our Northerne parts, got there new names, either for their shapes or conditions; as the large Rocke-fish from his like hew, and haunting amongst the Rocks; the fat Hog-fish from his swine-like shape and snout, for this is not the old knowne Hog-fish with brussels on his backe; the delicate Amber-fish from his taste and smell; Angell-fish, Cony-fish the small yellow taile from that naturall painting; the great Growper from his odde and strange grunting: some of them yet knowne to the *Americans*, as the Purgoose, the Cauallo, the Gar-fish, Flying-fish and Morerayes; the rest are common to other Continents, as the Whale in great numbers, the Sharke, the Pilot-fish, the Sea-Breame, the Oyster and Lobster, with diuers others. Twenty Tortoises haue beene taken in a day, and some of them will affoord halfe a bushell of Egges, and suffice to feed forty men at a meale. Fishes.

And thus haue you briefely epitomized Mother Natures benefits to this little, yet dainty spot of earth; neither were it ingenuity to conceale wherein shee inclineth to the Stepdame, especially since the particulars are so

[1593-1623]

The most hurtfull things in those Iles.

few, as rather requisite Antidotes against idlenesse to rouse vp industry, then any great cause of much distaste, much lesse despaire: and of those to speake troth, there are onely two: *viz.* the Winds, and the Wormes, especially in the Spring and Autumne; and thus conditioned as yet we will let rest these small Ilands, in the midst of this mightie and maine Ocean, so inuironed on euery side, by infinite numbers of vncertaine scattered Rocks, lying shallowly hid vnder the surface of the water, a league, two, three, foure, or fiue, to Sea, to the which aduantagers added by art, as hereafter you shall heare at large, and finde described in the Map. It may well be concluded to be the most impregnable place in the world; and although the Amber Greece, Pearles, nor Tobacco, are of that quantity and certainty to be relied vpon to gaine wealth; yet by practise and experience they finde, by Silke, Saffron, Indico, Madar, Sugar-canes, Wine, Oile, and such like, great profit may be expected. Yet were those hopelesse, in regard of their conueniency to nourish and maintaine themselues, and releeue them shall visit them with wood, water, and other necessaries; besides what an eye-sore they are already becommed to them that haue them not [*p.* 688], and how deare and pretious to them that haue them, I thinke none will deny but they are well worth the keeping: and so we will proceed to the accidents that befell the first finders; also the proceedings of the first Planters and their successors, Master *Norwod*, *Thomas Sparkes*, and diuers others.

A briefe relation of the shipwracke of Henry May. 1593.

[1591-3] How it is supposed they were called the *Bermudas*.

HOw these Iles came by the name of *Bermudas*, or the infinite number of blacke Hogs, or so fearefull to the world that many called them the *Ile of Deuils*, that all men did shun as Hell and perdition; I will not expostulate, nor trouble your patiences with those vncertaine antiquities [**173**] further then thus; our men found diuers crosses, peeces of Spanish monies here and there. Two or three wracks also they found, by certaine inscriptions to bee some Spanish, some Dutch, some French; but the greatest rumour is, that a Spanish ship called *Bermudas* was there cast away, carrying Hogges to the West-Indies that swam a shore, and there increased: how the *Spaniards* escaped is vncertaine: but they say, from that ship those Iles were first called *Bermudas*, which till then for six thousand yeares had beene namelesse.

But the first English-man that was euer in them, was one *Henry May*, a worthy Mariner that went with Captaine *Lancaster* to the East-Indies 1591. and in their returne by the West-Indies, being in some distresse, [he] sent this *Henry May* for England by one *Mounsier de la Barbotier*, to acquaint the Merchants with their estate.

The last of Nouember [1591], saith *May*, we departed from *Laguna* in *Hispaniola*, and the seuenteenth of December following [1591], we were cast away vpon the North-west of the *Bermudas*; the Pilots about noone made themselues Southwards of the Iles twelue leagues, and demanded of the Captaine their Wine of hight as out of all danger, which they had: but it seemes they were either drunke, or carelesse of their charge; for through their uegligences a number of good men were cast away.

I being but a stranger amongst fiftie and odde Frenchmen, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them should

[1591-4] be saued. In this extremity we made a raft, which we towed with our Boat, there were but six and twentie of vs saued; and I seeing scarce roome for the one halfe, durst not passe in amongst them till the Captaine called me along with him, leauing the better halfe to the seas mercy.

That day we rowed till within two houres of night ere we could land, being neere dead with thirst, euery man tooke his way to seeke fresh water; at length, by searching amongst many weeds, we found some raine water: but in the maine are many faire Baies, where we had enough for digging.

The building and calking their Barke.

Now it pleased God before our ship split we saued our Carpenters tooles, some Nailes, Sailes, and Tacklings; wherewith we went roundly to worke, and built a Barke of eighty tunnes. In stead of Pitch, we made Lime, mixed with Tortoise oyle; and as the Carpenters calked her, I and another paied the seames with this plaster, which being in Aprill, became quickly dry, and as hard as a stone.

In Aprill [1592] it was so hot, we feared our water would faile, two great Chests wee made, which we calked as our ship; those we stowed on each side our maine Mast, filled them with water and thirtie liue Tortoises. Wee found many Hogges, but so leane wee could not eat them. The tops of the Palmeta berries was our bread, and the iuyce we got out of the trees we cut downe our drinke, and of the leaues, which are more then an Ell long, we couered our Cabens, and made our beds, and found many of those prouisions as is related, but little foule weather.

His returne for England.

The eleuenth of May [1592] it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Ile, after wee had liued there fiue moneths: and the twentieth wee fell with Cape *Britton* neere *New found Land*, where refreshing [*we refreshed*] our selues with wood and water, and such things as we could get of the Saluages. It seemed a good Countrey, but we staied not past foure houres before we set saile for the banke of *New found land*: where wee met many ships, but not any would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God we met a Barke of *Fawmothe*, which receiued vs for a little time. And with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left Captaine *de la Barbotier*, my deare friend, and all his Company: and in August arriued at *Falmouth* in this honest English Barke, 1594.

Written by me Henry May. [174]

The first English ship knowne to haue beene cast away vpon the Bermudas, 1609. *From the relation of* Master Iordan, *Master* Iohn Euens, *Master* Henry Shelly, *and diuers others.*

[1609]

YOu haue heard, that when Captaine *Smith* was Gouernor of *Virginia*, there were nine ships sent with Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Nuport*, with fiue hundred people, to take in the old Commission, and rectifie a new gouernment: they set saile in May, and in the height of thirty degrees of Northerly latitude, they were taken with an extreme storme, or rather a part of *Hericano*, vpon the fiue and twentieth of Iuly [1609], which as they write, did not onely separate them from the Fleet, but with the violent working of the Seas, their ship became so shaken, torne, and leak[i]e, she receiued so much water as couered two tire [*teir*] of Hogsheads aboue the ballace [*ballast*], that they stood vp to the middles, with Buckets, Baricos, and Kettles, to baile out the water.

A most desperate estate by a storm.

Thus bailing and pumping three daies and three nights without intermission, and yet the water seemed rather to increase then diminish, in so much that being all vtterly spent with labour, were euen resolued without any hope to shut vp the hatches, and commit themselues to the mercy of the Sea, which is said to be mercilesse, or rather to the mercy of Almighty God, whose mercy farre exceeds all his

[1609] workes: seeing no sense or hope in mans apprehension, but presently to sinke; some hauing some good and comfortable waters [*spirits*], fetched them and dranke one to another, as taking their last leaues vntill a more happy and a more ioyfull meeting in a more blessed world; when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull prouidence, so to direct and guide their ship for her most aduantage.

The care and iudgement of Sir *George Somers.*

That Sir *George Somers* all this time sitting vpon the poupe, scarce taking leisure to eat nor sleepe, couing [*coning*] the ship to keepe her as vpright as he could, otherwaies she must, long ere that, needs haue foundered, most wishedly and happily descried land: whereupon he most comfortably incouraged them to follow their worke, many of them being fast asleepe. This vnlooked for welcome newes, as if it had bin a voice from heauen, hurrieth them all aboue hatches, to looke for that they durst scarce beleeue; so that improuidently forsaking that taske which imported no lesse then their liues, they gaue so dangerous aduantage to their greedy enemy the salt water, which still entred at the large breaches of their poore wooden castle, as that in gaping after life, they had well-nigh swallowed their death. Surely it is impossible any should now be vrged to doe his best, and although they knew it, [to be] that place all men did so shun, yet they spread all the saile they could to attaine them: for not long it was before they strucke vpon a rocke, till a surge of the sea cast her from thence; and so from one to another, till most luckily at last [she stuck] so vpright betwixt two, as if she had beene in the stocks.

An euident token of Gods mercy.

Till this they expected but euery blow a death: But now behold, suddenly the wind giues place to a calme, and the billowes, which each by ouertaking her, would in an instant haue shiuered her in peeces, become peaceable and still; so that with all conueniency and ease, they vnshipped all their goods, victuall, and persons into their Boats, and with extreme ioy, euen almost to amazednesse, arriued in safetie, though more then a league from the shore, without the losse of a man; yet were they in all one hundred and fiftie.

Yet their deliuerance was not more strange in falling so happily vpon the land, as their feeding and preseruation was beyond their hopes; for you haue heard, it hath beene

to the *Spaniards* more fearefull then an Vtopian Purgatory ; and to all Sea-men no lesse terrible then an inchanted den of Furies and Deuils; the most dangerous, vnfortunate, and forlorne place in the world : and they found it the richest, healthfullest and pleasantest they euer saw, as is formerly said. [1609]

Being thus safe on shore, they disposed themselues to search the Iles for food [**175**] and water ; others to get a shore what they could from the ship ; not long Sir *George* wandred but [he] found such a fishing, that in halfe an houre with a hooke and line, he tooke so many as sufficed the whole company. In some places they were so thicke in the Coues, and so great, they durst not goe in lest they should bite them, and these rocke fish are so great two will load a man, and fatter nor better fish cannot be. Master *Shelly* found a Bay neere a quarter of a mile ouer, so full of Mullets, as none of them before had euer seene or heard of the like : the next day seeking to kill them with fis-gigs, they strucke so many the water in many places was red with bloud, yet caught not one ; but with a net they caught so many as they could draw a shore, with infinite number of Pilchards and diuers other sorts. Great craw-fishes in a night by making a fire they haue taken in great quantity. Sir *George* had twice his hooke and line broke out of his hand, but the third time he made it so strong he caught the same fish ; which had pulled him into the Sea had not his men got hold of him, whereby he had his three hookes againe [that] were found in her belly. At their first hunting for hogs they found such abundance, they killed 32 : and this hunting and fishing was appointed to Captaine *Robert Walsingham*, and Master *Henry Shelly* for the company in general : they report they killed at least 500. besides Pigs, and many that were killed by diuers others ; for the birds in their seasons, the facility to make their cabens of Palmeta leaues, caused many of them vtterly forget or desire euer to returne from thence, they liued in such plenty, peace and ease.

Sir *Geo. Somers* first ra[n]ging the land.

But let vs remember how the Knights began to resolue in those desperat affaires. Many proiects they had, but at last it was concluded, to decke their long boat with their ship hatches ; which done, with all expedition they

What meanes they made to send to *Virginia*.

[1609-10] sent Master *Rauen*, a very sufficient Mariner, with eight more in her to *Virginia*, to haue shipping from thence to fetch them away. Three weekes or a moneth they expected her returne, but to this day [1624] she was neuer more heard of.

All this time was spent in searching the Iles: now although God still fed them with this abundance of plenty, yet such was the malice of enuy or ambition, for all this good seruice done by *Sommers*, such a great difference fell amongst their Commanders, that they liued asunder in this distresse, rather as meere strangers then distressed friends: but necessity so commanded, patience had the victory.

A mariage and two children borne.

Two ships at this time by those seuerall parties were a building; in the meane time two children were borne, the Boy was called *Bermudas*, the Girle *Bermuda*, and amongst all those sorrowes they had a merry English mariage.

The forme of those Iles you may see at large in the Map of Master *Norwood*, where you may plainly see no place knowne hath better walls, nor a broader ditch.

But hauing finished and rigged their two new Cedar ships with such prouisions they saued from the Sea-aduenturer they left amongst the Rocks, they called the one the *Patience*, the other the *Deliuerance*; they vsed Lime and Oile, as *May* did, for Pitch and Tar. Sir *George Summers* had in his Barke no Iron at all but one bolt in her Keele; now hauing made their prouisions of victuall and all things ready, they set saile the tenth of May 1610. onely leauing two men behinde them, called *Christopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, that for their offences, or the suspition they had of their iudgements, fled into the woods: and there rather desired to end their daies then stand to their trials and the euent of Iustice; for one of their consorts was shot to death, and *Waters* being tied to a tree also to be executed, had by chance a Knife about him, and so secretly cut the Rope, he ran into the woods where they could not finde him [*pp.* 591, 640, 648, 649, 660].

There were two Saluages also sent from *Virginia* by Captain *Smith*, the one called *Namuntack* [*p.* 517], the other *Matchumps*: but some such differences fell betweene them, that *Matchumps* slew *Namuntack*, and hauing made a hole to bury him, because it was too short, he cut of[f] his legs

and laid them by him; which murder he concealed till he was in *Virginia*. [1610]

The foure and twentieth of the same moneth [*May* 1610] they arriued in *Virginia* at *Iames* towne, where they found but threescore persons, as you may reade at large in the History of *Virginia* [*pp.* 498, 500], of the fiue hundred left by Captaine *Smith*: [as] also of the arriuall [**176**] of the Lord *Laware*, that met them thus bound for *England*, returned them backe [*p.* 500]; and vnderstanding what plenty there was of hogs and other good things in the *Bermudas*, was desirous to send thither to supply his necessary occasions. Their arriuall in *Virginia*.

Whereupon Sir *George Summers*, the best acquainted with the place, whose noble minde euer regarded a generall good more then his owne ends, though aboue threescore yeeres of age, and had meanes in *England* su[i]table to his ranke, offered himselfe by Gods helpe to performe this dangerous voyage againe for the *Bermudas*; which was kindly accepted, so vpon the 19. of Iune [1610], he imbarked in his Cedar ship, about the burthen of thirty tunnes, and so set saile.

Much foule and crosse weather he had, and was forced to the North parts of *Virginia*; where refreshing himselfe vpon this vnknowne coast, he could not bee diuerted from the search of the *Bermudas*, where at last with his company he safely arriued: but such was his diligence with his extraordinary care, paines and industry to dispatch his businesse, and the strength of his body not answering the euer memorable courage of his minde; hauing liued so long in such honourable seruices the most part of his well beloued and vertuous life, God and nature here determined, should euer remaine a perpetuall memory of his much bewailed sorrow for his death: finding his time but short, after he had taken the best course he could to settle his estate; like a valiant Captaine he exhorted them with all diligence to be constant to those Plantations, and with all expedition to returne to *Virginia*. In that very place which we now call Saint *Georges* towne, this noble Knight died, whereof the place taketh the name. Sir *George Summers* his returne to the *Bermudas*.

But his men, as men amazed, seeing the death of him who was euen as the life of them all, embalmed his body and set saile for *England*; being the first that euer went to seeke those Ilands: which haue beene euer since called *Summers*

[1611-12] Iles, in honour of his worthy memory, leauing three men behind them, that voluntarily stayed, whose names were *Christopher Carter*, *Edward Waters*, there formerly left as is said [*p.* 638]; and *Edward Chard*.

This Cedar ship at last with his dead body arriued at *Whit-Church* in *Dorsetshire*; where by his friends he was honourably buried, with many vollies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier: and vpon his tombe was bestowed this Epitaph.

His Epitaph. [*p.* 173.]

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæuiet inde et hiems;
At ver perpetuum nascetur, et Anglia læta,
Decerpit flores florida terra tuas.

In English thus:

Alas Virginia's Summer so soone past,
Autumne succeeds and stormy Winters blast,
Yet Englands *ioyfull Spring with ioyfull showers,*
O Florida, *shall bring thy sweetest flowers.*

The proceedings of the three men.

THE honour of this resolution belongs principally to *Carter*: for through his importunity, not to leaue such a place abandoned, *Chard* and *Waters* were moued to stay with him, and the rest promised with all the speed they could againe to reuisit them. But the ship once out of sight, those three Lords, the sole inhabitants of all those Ilands, began to erect their little common wealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting Corne, and such seeds and fruits as they had, building a house, &c. Then making priuy search amongst the creuises and corners of those craggy Rocks, what this maine Ocean since the worlds creation had throwne amongst them; at last they chanced vpon the greatest peece of Amber-greece was euer seene or heard of in one lumpe, being in weight foure-score pound, besides diuers other small peeces.

A peece of Amber-greece of 80. pound weight.

But now being rich, they grew so proud and ambitious, contempt tooke such [177] place, they fell out for supe-

riority, though but three forlorne men, more then three thousand miles from their natiue Country, and but small hope euer to see it againe. Notwithstanding, they sometimes fell from words to blowes about meere trifles: in one of which fights, one of them was bitten with his owne dog, as if the dumbe beast would reproue them of their folly; at last *Chard* and *Waters*, the two greater spirits, must try it out in the field, but *Carter* wisely stole away their weapons, affecting rather to liue amongst his enemies, then by being rid of them liue alone. And thus those miserable men liued full two yeeres [*May* 1610—*July* 1612], so that all their clothes were neere worne cleane from their backs, and their hopes of any forraine releefe as naked as their bodies. [1610-12]

At last they began to recouer their wits, yet in a fashion perhaps would haue cost them dearer then when they were mad; for concluding a tripartite peace of their Matachin warre, they resolued to frame as good a Boat as they could, and therein to make a desperate attempt for *Virginia*, or *New found Land*: but no sooner were they entred into that resolution, but they descried a saile standing in for the shore, though they neither knew what she was, nor what she would, they were so ouer-ioyed; [that] with all possible speed they went to meet her; and according to their hearts desire she proued an Englishman, whom they safely conducted into their harbour.

How they were supplied. 1611.

Now you are to vnderstand, that Captaine *Matthew Somers*, Nephew and heire to Sir *George*, that returned with his dead body, though both he and his Company did their vtmost in relating all those passages to their Countrey-men and aduenturers, their relations were beleeued but as trauellers tales, till it came to be apprehended by some of the *Virginia* Company, how beneficiall it might be, and helpfull to the Plantation in *Virginia*: so that some one hundred and twentie of them bought the pretended right of all the Company, and had sent this ship to make a triall; but first they had obtained Letters Patents of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected Treasurer and Gouernor heere, and Master *Richard More* to be Gouernor of the Iles and Colony there.

The first beginning of a Colonie in the Somer Iles, vnder the command of Master *Richard More*, extracted out of a plot of Master *Richard Norwood* Surueior, and the relations of diuers others.

[1612] The arriuall of Master *More*.

MAster *More* thus found those three men not onely well and lusty, but well stored with diuers sorts of prouisions, as an Acre of Corne ready to be gathered, number of Pumpions and Indian Beanes, many Tortoises ready taken, good store of hogs flesh salted, and made in flitches of Bacon, [which] were very good: and so presently landed his goods and sixty persons towards the beginning of Iuly 1612. vpon the South side of *Smiths* Ile.

1612. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Their differences about the Amber-greece.

Not long after his arriuall, *More* hauing some priuate intelligence of this Amber-greece, tooke first *Chard* in examination, he being one of the three [with] the most masterfull spirit, what Amber-greece, Pearle, Treasure, or other Commodities they had found. *Chard* no lesse witty then resolute, directly answered; Not any thing at all but the fruits of the Ile: what his fellowes had done he knew not, but if they had, he doubted not but to finde it out, and then hee should know it certainly.

This he spake onely to win time to sweare his Consorts to secrecy, and he would finde the meanes how they should all returne in that ship with it all for *England*, otherwise they should be deceiued of all. Till this was effected they thought euery houre an age; now for the better conueiance of it aboord, they acquainted it to Captaine *Dauis*, master of the ship, and one Master *Edwin Kendall*, that for their secrecy and transportation should participate with them. Without further ceremony the match was accepted, and absolutely concluded, the plot laid, time and place set downe to haue it aboord. But *Carter*, were it for feare the Gouernor

at last should know of it, to whom so oft they had denied it; or that the [**178**] rest should deceiue him, is vncertaine; but most certaine it is, he reuealed all the plot to Master *More*. To get so much wealth he knew would please them in *England*, though it did displease all his Company; and to lose such a prize he would not for hazarding a mutiny. So first hee reuealed himselfe to *Kendall* in faire tearmes, reprouing his dishonesty; but not being answered according to his expectation, he committed both *Chard* and him to person [*prison*]. [1612]

The next Sabboath day *Dauis* comming on shore, *More* also taxed with very hard language and many threats, to lay him fast also, if he mended not his manners; *Dauis* for the present replied little, but went with him to the place of praier: but in the midst of diuine seruice he goeth away, commanding all his Sea-men to follow him presently aboord; where he encourageth them to stand to him like men, and hee would free the Prisoners, haue all the Amber-greece for themselues, and so be gone.

Chard in danger of hanging.

The Gouernor hearing of this resolution, prepares with his company to repulse force with force, so that a generall expectance of a ciuill vnciuill warre possessed euery man; but this threatning gust passed ouer more calmlier then was expected: for *Dauis* hauing better aduised with himselfe, repented his rashnesse, and desired a reconcilement with the Gouernor. Peace thus concluded, *Kendall* was set at libertie; but *Chard* was condemned, and vpon the ladder to be hanged for his obstinacy: yet vpon better consideration *More* repri[e]ued him, but kept him a prisoner all the time he staied in the Country, which was generally thought a very bad reward for his great desert; and that there was more of this Amber-greece imbeziled, then would haue contented all the finders, that neuer had any consideration at all.

The greatest part th[r]ough *More* [was] thus recouered; yet *Dauis* and *Kendall* had so much, either by the ignorance or conniuency of the Gouernors, that arriuing in *England*, they prepared themselues for a new voiage: at last they two falling out, the Company hauing notice thereof, so tormented them both, they gaue ouer their voiage, and durst not be seene a long time after.

[1612] Master *Mores* industry in fortifying and planting.

The Gouernor thus rid of the ship and those discontents, remoued his seat from *Smiths* Ile to Saint *Georges*, after he had fitted vp some small Cabbens of Palmata leaues for his wife and family, in that valley where now stands their prime towne called *S. Georges*, hee began to apply himselfe to fortifie the Countrey, and training his men in the exercise of armes. For although he was but a Carpenter, he was an excellent Artist, a good Gunner, very witty and industrious: he built and laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the *Kings* Castle, *Charles* Fort, *Pembrookes* Fort, *Smiths* Fort, *Pagits* Fort, *Gates* Fort, *Warwicks* Castle, Saint *Katharines* Fort, &c. mounting in them all the Ordnance he had, preparing the ground to build Houses, plant Corne, and such Fruits as they had.

A contention of the Minister against the Gouernor.

Being thus busied, and as the necessitie of the time required, keeping his men somewhat hard at worke, Master *Keath* his Minister; were it by the secret prouocation of some drones that grew weary of their taskes, or his affection to popularity is not certaine: But he begins to tax the Gouernor in the Pulpit, hee did grinde the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethren with *Pharoahs* taxes. *More* finding this in short time, might breed ill bloud, called the Company together and also the Minister, vrging them plainly, to tell him wherein he had deserued those hard accusations: whereupon, with an vniuersall cry they affirmed the contrary, so that *Keath* [fell] downe of his knees to aske him forgiuenesse. But Master *More* kindly tooke him vp, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modest and charitable in his speeches; notwithstanding two other discontents so vpbraided *More* with that doctrine, and stood to maintaine it, he impaneled a Iury, with a great deale of seeming much adoe he would hang them being condemned, one of them with the very feare, fell into a dead Palsie; so that the other was set at libertie, and proued after a very good labourer.

Two peeces weighed out of the *Sea Aduenture.*

Many conclusions he tried about the *Sea-venture*, the wracke of Sir *George Somers*, [**179**] but he got onely for his paines but two peece[s] of Ordnance. Hauing framed a Church of timber, it was blowne downe by a tempest; so that he built another in a more closer place with Palmeta leaues.

Before this yeere was expired, the aduenterers sent them an aduiso with thirtie Passengers and good prouisions, to prepare with all expedition for their defence against the *Spaniard*, whom they vnderstood ere long would visit them. This occasioned him to keepe all his men together in that Ile so hard at worke, that wanting libertie to goe abroad for food, liuing onely on that they had, and expected daily to receiue from *England*, they were so ouer-toiled, [that] many fell sicke, but none died. Very earnest this ship [the *Elizabeth*] was to haue all the Amber-greece: which Master *More* perceiuing was the chiefest cause of their comming, and that it was the onely loadstone to draw from *England* still more supplies; for all the expresse command sent from the Company, he returned this ship but with the one third part; so from thence she went to *Virginia*, and not long after arriued safely in *England*. [1612-3] The first supply.

But before her returne the Company sent the *Martha* with sixtie Passengers more, they arriued in Iune [1613] with one Master *Bartlet* to suruey the Iland, and the estate of the Colonie, with expresse command for all the Amber-greece: but *More* perceiuing him not as he would haue him, and that the Company began to mistrust him, would send no more but another third part: wherewith they returned, leauing a French-man to make triall of the Mulberies for Silke, but he did not bring any thing to perfection; excusing himselfe, they were not the right Mulberies he expected. 1613. The second supply. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

About this time they were in hope of a small crop of Tobacco, but it was most spoiled for want of knowledge to vse it.

Now in *England* Master *More* became amongst the Merchants maruelous[ly] distastfull, for the detaining so long the Amber-greece; which delaies they so much abhorred, they forthwith dispatched the *Elizabeth* the second time and forty Passengers, much rebuking *More* for so long detaining the Amber-greece: for the which, hauing now no more colourable excuses, he deliuered it, wherewith the ship went to *Virginia*, and thence home.

In this ship was brought [*i.e.*, to *Bermuda*] the first Potata roots; which flourished exceedingly for a time, till by negligence they were almost lost; all but two cast-away A strange increase of Potatoes.

[1613] roots, that so wonderfully haue increased, they are a maine releefe to all the Inhabitants.

The attempt of two Spanish ships.

This ship was not long gone but there came two Spanish ships, sounding with their Boat, which attempted to come in: but from the Kings Castle, Master *More* made but two shot, which caused them presently depart. Marke here the handy-worke of the diuine prouidence, for they had but three quarters of a barrell of powder, and but one shot more; and the powder by carelesnesse was tumbled downe vnder the mussels of the two peeces, [which] were discharged, yet not touched with fire when they were discharged.

This feare thus past, appeares another much worse, which was the extremity of famine: in this extremity God sent Captaine *Daniel Elfrid* with a car[a]uell of meale, which a little relieued them; but brought withall so many Rats, that within two yeeres after neere ruined all. Now though *Elfrid* had deceiued his friend *Fisher* of this Caruell in the *West-Indies*, they reuenged *Fishers* iniury; for *Elfrid* had his passage for *England*, and they made vse of all he had.

Some two moneths after, came in the *Blessing* with an hundred Passengers; and two daies after, the *Starre* with a hundred and fourescore more, amongst which were many Gentlemen, as Master *Lower* for Marshall, Master *Barret*, Master *Felgate*, and diuers others; but very vnproper for what they vndertooke.

Within foureteene daies after, came in the *Margaret* and two Frygats, and in them one hundred and threescore Passengers; also Master *Bartlet* came now expresly to diuide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. But Master *More* finding no mention made of any part for himselfe nor all them with him, as he was promised in *England*, by no meanes would admit of any diuision, nor suffer his men from finishing their fortifications, which was so necessary, [that] it was his maine ambition to see that accomplished: but such vnkindnesse grew betwixt this Master *Bartlet* and [180] the Gouernour, that the rude multitude, with all the disdaine they could deuise, caused *Bartlet* [to] returne for *England* as he came.

About this time *William Millington* was drawne into the Sea by a fish, but neuer after euer seene.

The neglect of this diuision was very hardly conceited

in *England*, so that Master *More* grew more and more in dislike with the company; notwithstanding he followed the building of these Forts so earnestly, neglecting planting of Corne, till their store was neere all consumed, whereby they became so feeble and weake, some would not, others could not goe abroad to seeke releefe, but starued in their houses, and many that went abroad, through weaknesse were subiect to be suddenly surprized with a disease called the Feauges: which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriuing them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exercises, whether it were working, walking, or what else: being thus taken, if any presently gaue them food many times they straight recouered, yet some after a little rest would bee able to walke; but if they found not present succour, died. [1614] 1614. A great famine and mortalitie. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

About this time or immediatly before, came in a company of Rauens, which continued amongst them all the time of this mortality and then departed; which for anything knowne, neither before nor since were euer seene or heard of: this with diuers other reasons caused Master *More* to goe out to Sea, to see if he could discouer any other Ilands, but he went not farre ere ill weather forced him backe; and it were a noble aduenture of him [that] would vndertake to make more perfect all the dangers [that] are about the *Summer Iles*. A strange being of Rauens.

Thus famine and misery caused Gouernour *More* [to] leaue all his workes, and send them abroad to get what they could. One hundred and fifty of the most weake and sicke he sent to *Coupers* Ile, where were such infinite numbers of the Birds called Cahowes, which were so fearlesse they might take so many as they would; and that admired abundance of fish, that the extremity of their hunger, and their gluttony was such, those heauenly blessings they so consumed and wasted by carelesnesse and surfetting, many of them died vpon those silly Birds that offered themselues to the slaughter: which the Gouernour vnderstanding, caused them for change of aire to be remoued to *Port-royall*, and a Company of Fishers with a Boat to releeue them with fish. But the Gange grew so lazie the poore weaklings still died; they that remained killed the Cattle they found in the Ile, faining the heat caused them to runne into the Sea and so were drowned; so that the All workes abandoned to get onely victuals.

[1614] Gouernour sent againe for them home, but some obtained leaue still to liue abroad; one amongst the rest hid himselfe in the Woods, and liued onely on Wilkes and land Crabs, fat and lusty many moneths.

But most of them being at Saint *Georges*, ordinarily was taken one hundred and fifty or two hundred great fishes daily for their food; for want of hookes and lines, the Smith made hookes of old swords, and lines of old ropes. But finding all those poore Engines also decay, they sent one of the two Frigats last left with them for *England*, to tell them of this misery.

All which was now attributed to Master *Mores* peruersnesse, who at first when he got the Amber-Greece had not such a generall applause, but now all the worst could possibly be suggested was too good for him; yet not knowing for the present how to send a better, they let him continue still, though his time was neere expired: and with all speed sent the *Welcome* fraught with prouision, where shee well arriued, and proued her selfe as welcome in deed as in name; for all those extremities, Master *Lewes Hues* writeth, not one of all those threescore that first beganne this Plantation was dead, which shewes it was not impossible, but industry might haue preuented a great part of the others sluggish carelesnesse.

A supply, and Master *Mores* returne.

This ship much refreshed this miserable Colony, but Master *More* seeing they sent not for him; his time being now expired, vnderstanding how badly they reputed him in *England*, and that his imploiment now was more for their owne ends then any good for himselfe, resolued directly to returne with this ship.

Hauing setled all things in the best order he could, [he] left the gouernment to the charge [**181**] of the counsell of six to succeed each other monethly, till they had further directions from *England*; whose names were Captaine *Miles Kendall*, Captaine *Iohn Mansfield*, *Thomas Knight*, *Charles Caldycot*, *Edward Waters*, and *Christopher Carter*, with twelue others for their assistances.

More thus taking leaue of those Ilands, arriued in *England*. Much wrangling they had, but at last they confirmed him according to promise eight shares of Land, and so he was dismissed of his charge, with shew of fauour and much friendship.



The rule of the six Gouernors. 1615.

THe first thing they did was casting of lots, who should rule first ; which lot lighted vpon Master *Caldicot.* [1615]

This last supply somewhat abated the extremitie of their miseries, and the better in that their fortifications being finished, they had the more leasure to goe abroad with that meanes [which] was brought to that purpose to fish. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Chard as you haue heard, whom all this while *More* had kept Prisoner, they set at libertie : now by reason of their former miseries, little or nothing could be done : yet this Gouernor hauing thus concluded his moneth, and prepared a Frigot and two and thirtie men, hee imbarked himselfe with two other of his fellow counsellers; namely *Knight* and *Waters*, for the West-Indies, to get Fruits and Plants, Goats, young Cattle, and such like.

But this poore vessell, whether through ill weather, or want of Mariners, or both, in stead of the *Indies* fell with the *Canaries*; where taking a poore *Portugall*, the which they manned with ten of their owne people, as soone after separated from her in a storme, and the next day [it] was taken by a French Pickaroune ; so that the Frigot, out of hope of her prize, makes a second time for the West-Indies, where she no sooner arriued, but [she] foundred in the sea. But the men in their Boat recouered a desolate Ile, where after some few moneths stay, an English Pyrat tooke them in ; and some of them at last got for *England*, and, some few yeares after, returned to the *Somer Iles*.

Captaine Iohn Mansfield *his moneth.*

THE Frigot thus gone, Captaine *Mansfield* succeeded. Then was contriued a petition, as from the generalitie, vnto the triumuerat Gouernors ; wherein they supplicated, that by no

[1615] meanes they should resigne the gouernment to any [that] should come from *England*, vpon what tearmes soeuer, vntill six moneths after the returne of their ship sent to the West-Indies. About this vnwarrantable action, Master *Lewes Hues* their Preacher was so violent in suppressing it, that such discontents grew betwixt the Gouernors and him, and diuisions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemned, and imprisoned; but not long detained before released. Then the matter fell so hotly againe to be disputed betwixt him and one Master *Keath* a Scotchman, that professed scholarship, that made all the people in a great combustion: much adoe there was, till at last as they sate in the Church and ready to proceed to a iudicary course against Master *Hues*, suddenly such an extreme gust of wind and weather so ruffled in the trees and Church; some cried out a miracle; others, it was but an accident common in those Iles, but the noise was so terrible it disolued the assembly: notwithstanding, Master *Hues* was againe imprisoned, and as suddenly discharged; but those factions were so confused, and their relations so variable, that such vnnecessary circumstances were better omitted then any more disputed.

Master *Carter.* Captaine *Kendall* Captaine *Mansfield.*

THis mans moneth thus ended, begins Master *Carter*, which was altogether spent in quietnesse; and then Captaine *Miles Kendall* had the rule, whose moneth was also as quietly spent as his Predecessors. Then Captaine *Mansfield* begins his second moneth, when the ship called the *Edwin* arriued with good supplies. About this time diuers Boats going to sea were lost, and some men drowned; and [182] many of the Company repaired to Master *Hues*, that there might bee a Councell according to Master *Mores* order of sixe Gouernours, and twelue Assistants: whereupon grew as many more such silly brawles as before, which at last concluded with as simple a reconciliation.

In the *in*[*t*]*erim* happened to a certaine number of priuate persons as miserable and lamentable an accident, as euer was read or heard of, and thus it was:

In the month of March [1615], a time most subiect of all

others to such tempests; on a Friday there went seuen men in a boat of two or three tunnes, to fish. The morning being faire, so eager they were of their iourney, some went fasting: neither carried they either meat or drinke with them, but a few Palmeta berries: but being at their fishing place some foure leagues from the shoare, such a tempest arose, they were quickly driuen from the sight of land in an ouergrowne Sea, despairing of all hope, onely committing themselues to Gods mercy, let the boat driue which way shee would. [1615] A wonderfull accident.

On Sunday the storme being somewhat abated, they hoysed saile as they thought towards the Island. In the euening it grew starke calme; so that being too weake to vse their oares, they lay a drift that night.

The next morning *Andrew Hilliard* (for now all his compan[i]ons were past strength either to helpe him or themselues), before a small gale of winde, spred his saile againe.

On Tuesday one died, whom they threw ouer board. On Wednesday three. And on Thursday at night the sixt[h].

All these but the last were buried by *Hilliard* in the Sea, for so weake hee was growne hee could not turne him ouer as the rest, whereupon hee stripped him, ripping his belly with his knife, throwing his bowels into the water, hee spread his body abroad tilted open with a sticke, and so lets it lie as a cisterne to receiue some lucky raine-water, and this God sent him presently after, so that in one small shoure hee recouered about foure spoonefuls of raine water to his vnspeakable refreshment; he also preserued neere halfe a pint of blood in a shooe, which he did sparingly drinke of to moist his mouth. Two seuerall daies he fed on his flesh, to the quantity of a pound, on the eleuenth day from his loosing the sight of land, two flying fishes fals in his boat, whose warme iucie blood hee sucked to his great comfort. But within an houre after to his greater comfort you will not doubt, he once againe descried the land, and within foure houres after was cast vpon a rocke neere to Port royall, where his boat was presently split in pieces, but himselfe, though extreamly weake, made shift to clamber vp so steepe and high a rocke, as would haue troubled the ablest man in the Ile to haue done that by day [which] hee did by night.

[1615-6] Being thus astride on a rocke, the tumbling Sea had gotten such possession in his braines, that a good while it was before his giddy head would suffer him to venture vpon the forsaking it: towards the morning he craules a shore, and then to his accomplished ioy descernes where hee is, and trauels halfe a day without any refreshment then water; whereof wisely and temperately he stinted himselfe, otherwise certainly hee had drunke his last.

In which case hee attaines a friends house: where at the first they tooke him for a ghost, but at last acknowledged and receiued him with ioy; his story, after some houres of recouery of strength to tell it, [they] heard out with admiration: he was not long after conueyed to the towne, where he receiued his former health, and was liuing in the yeere 1622.

Treasure found in the *Summer Iles.*

The next newes that happened in this time of ease, was, that a merry fellow hauing found some few Dollars against the Flemish wracke, the bruit went currant the treasure was found, and they all made men. Much adoe there was to preuent the purloining of it, before they had it: vvhere after they had tyred themselues vvith searching, that they found amounted not to aboue twenty pounds starling, vvhich is not vnlike but to be the remainder of some greater store, washed from some wracke not farre from the shore.

A new Gouernor chosen.

The company, by the *Edwin* receiuing newes of the reuels [that] vvere kept in *Somer Iles*, resolued to make choice of a new Gouernour, called Master *Daniel Tuckar*, that a long time had beene a planter [in] *Virginia* in the gouernment of Captaine [**183**] *Smith* [*pp.* 129, 145].

All things being furnished for his voyage; hee set saile in the *George*, consorted vvith the *Edwin*, with many passengers, which being discouered by them in those Iles, they supposed them the Frigot sent to the West Indies; but when they vnderstood vvhat they vvere, much preparation they made to resist the new Gouernour.

Many great ostentations appeared on both sides, but vvhen the *quondam* Gouernour did see his men for most part forsake him, all was very well and quietly compounded; and with much kindnesse [they] receiued and welcomed [him] a shore, where his Commission was no sooner read, then they accepted and acknowledged him for their Gouernour.

The Gouernment of Captaine Daniel Tuckar.

1616.

ABout the midst of May [1616] arriued this Gouernor, where finding the Inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as also in a manner disdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him; it could not but passionate any man liuing. But at last, according to the *Virginia* order, hee set euery one [that] was with him at Saint *Georges*, to his taske, to cleere grounds, fell trees, set corne, square timber, plant vines and other fruits brought out of *England*. These by their taske-Masters by breake a day repaired to the wharfe, from thence to be imployed to the place of their imployment, till nine of the clocke, and then in the after-noone from three till Sunne-set. Beside meat, drinke and cloaths, they had for a time a certaine kinde of brasse money with a hogge on the one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges [that] was found at their first landing. [1616]

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

[*pp.* 149, 466, 502.]

This course thus squared, imitating diuers orders vsed in *Virginia* by Sir *Thomas Dale*: he began by them to looke into his instructions giuen by the Company. Whereupon by one Master *Richard Norwood* a Suruayor, sent ouer for that purpose, in the time of Master *Moore*, hee began to lay out the eight tribes in the maine, which were to consist of fifty shares to a tribe; and twenty five acers to euery share. He also began to plant some Colony men, on some of the especiall shares. He swore also certaine of the chiefe men of euery tribe to bee Bailiffes thereof; and

Captaine *Tuckars* proceedings.

[1616] appointed as many men as hee was able for all supplied shares. The goods landed in the store houses hee sent from thence, and dispersed it to his workemen in generall: some Boats also began to be builded; but the pinace called the *Thomas* [which it was] suspected might make an escape, was laid vp in a docke, were shee yet [1624] remaineth.

A Barke sent to the West Indies.

In the beginning of the second moneth of his gouernment, he directed warrants to all the Bailiffes, for the holding of a generall Assise at Saint *Georges*, and appointed Master *Stokes* Lieutenant of the Kings Castle at the Gurnets [*p.* 656.] head. The *Edwin* [that] came with him, he sent to the West Indies by directions from *England*, to trade with the natiues, for cattell, corne, plants, and other commodities. A course of great importance, which had it been pursued, would certainly have produced more hopefull effects for the good of the Colony, then all the supplies and *Magazines* from *England* hath or will in a long time.

The Assises.

Presently after her departure, began the Assises, executed by his Deputy. The chiefe matter handled was the hanging one *Iohn Wood* a French man, for speaking many distastefull and mutinous speeches against the Gouernour, to shew the rest by that example, the power of his authority: which after with his owne hands he so oft executed with a bastinado amongst the poorer sort; many tearmed it a cruelty, not much lesse then tyranny: but the sequell is more then strange.

The strange aduenture of fiue men in a boat.

So it was that fiue of them, seeing by no meanes they could get passage for *England*, resolued to vndergoe all hazards but they would make an escape from such seruitude. The chiefe mariner and plotter of this businesse, was *Richard Sanders* and his confederates, *William Goodwin* a ship Carpenter, *Thomas Harison* a Ioyner, *Iames Barker* a Gentleman, and *Henry Puet*. These repairing to the Gouernour, and with pleasing insinuations told him, if hee would allow them but [**184**] things necessary, they would build him a boat of two or three tunnes, with a close decke, [that] should go a fishing [in] all weathers. The Gouernour halfe proud that hee had brought his men to so good a passe, as he conceiued, to offer themselues to so necessary a worke; instantly with all willingnesse furnished them with

all things they could desire, and many faire promises to incourage them to performe it with all expedition. Hauing made choise of a place most fit from molestation, they went forward with that expedition, that in a short time shee was brought to perfection. By this time, the ship that brought the Gouernour, being ready to depart, hee sends a lusty gange to goe [and] fetch his new boat to carry him aboard; but arriuing at the place where she was built, they could heare no more of her, but [that] she was gone the last euening to Sea, to try how shee would saile. [1616]

Much search and dispute was where this boat should be: but at last they found diuers letters in the cabbins, to this effect, directed to the Gouernour, and other their friends: that their hard and bad vsage was so intollerable, and their hope so smal euer againe to see their Countrey, or be deliuered from such seruitude, they did rather chuse to put themselues to that desperate hazard to goe for *England*, in which if they miscaried, as it was much to be mistrusted, their liues and bloods should be required at their hands [who] was the cause. A compasse Diall *Barker* had borrowed of Master *Hues*, to whom he writ that as hee had oft perswaded them to patience, and that God would pay them though none did: hee must now bee contented with the losse of his Diall, with his owne doctrine. Such leasure they found to bee merry when in the eye of reason they were marching into a most certaine ruine.

The Gouernour being thus satisfied of their escape, extreamly threatned them no lesse then a hanging, but the stormes of the Ocean they now more feared then him; good prouision by bartering they had got from the ship, where *Goodwin* in a brauado told the Mariners, though he could not be permitted to goe with them, yet peraduenture hee might be in *England* before them: whereat the Master and his Mate laughed merrily.

But hauing beene now vnder saile three weekes, the winds so fauoured them, they felt nothing of what they had cause to feare: then a blustering gale blowing in their teeth, put them to much extremity for diuers dayes, then becomming more gentle away they past prosperously some eight or ten dayes more, till meeting a French Piccaroune of whom they desired succour, hee like himselfe tooke from

[1616] them what hee liked, leauing them not so much as a crosse-staffe to obserue withall, and so cast them off: their course stil they continued till their victuall began to fall to the lowest ebbe; and the very knees of their small vessell were halfe hewed away for fire wood.

At last to their infinit ioy they arriued in *Ireland*, where the Earle of *Tomund* honorably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung vp for a Monument; and well she might, for shee had sailed more then 3300 miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land: and I thinke since God made the world, the like nauigation was neuer done, nor heard of.

This fortunate *Sanders* going to the *East Indies*, in the rifling [of] some ships there tooke, it was his chance to buy an old chest for three or foure shillings; but because it wanted a key hee repented his bargaine, and would gladly haue sold it againe for lesse. A certaine time it lay tossed to and fro as a thing hee little regarded, but at last hauing little to doe, hee broke it open, where he found a thousand pounds starling, or so much gold as bought him in *England* a good estate: which leauing with his wife, he returned againe to the *East Indies*.

The *George* setting saile three dayes after this escape, the Gouernour seazed and confiscated all that those fugitiues left behinde them.

Plants from the West Indies. [*p.* 654.]

With in a weeke after, returned the *Edwin* from the *West Indies*, furnished with figges, pynes, sugar-canes, plantaines, papanes and diuers other plants; which were presently replanted, and since increased into greater numbers: also an *Indian* and a *Negar*, and so much *lignæ vit*[æ] as defrayed all the charge. The Gouernor thus busied amongst his plants, making hedges of Figtrees, and Pomgranets, and seuerall diuisions by [**185**] Palizadoes for the defence of their guarding and keeping their cattell, for in such husbandry qualities he well deserued great commendations.

The exploits of Captain *Powell*.

The Aduenturers to supply him sent with all speed they could, the *Hopewell*, a small Barke, but an excellent sailer; and in her one Captaine *Powell* an excellent Mariner, and well acquainted in the Indies where he was to goe [and] trade,

after he had landed his passengers in the Summer Iles: but in his iourney at the Westerne Iles meeting a *Brasile* man, hee liked the suger and passengers so well, hee man[ne]d the Caruill with his owne men, and continued his course, but bethinking himself how this would be entertained at the Summer Iles, hee found such doubts, hee went directly for the West Indies to take time to resolue what to doe. [1616]

Arriuing there hee met a French rouer, one euery way as cunning as himselfe, but much more trecherous. A great league of kindnesse is soone made betweene them; vpon confidence whereof, *Powell* and some of the chiefe with him being inuited aboord him, is easily entised, and in the midst of their cups both hee and his company treacherously made prisoners: and thus was forced to giue him their prise, or hang at the yards arme with all his company.

Hauing set them a shore, away goes the French man; *Powels* ship being but hard by, presently fetcht them all a boord: but finding his victuall neere spent, and no hope at all to recouer his prize, [he] set his Portugales on shore, and set saile for the Summer Iles; where safely arriuing, hee declared the whole passage to the Gouernour, lest some other in telling might make it worse, of which the Gouernour seemed well enough to approue.

This Gouernour still spent his time in good husbandry, although some of the snarling sort here in *England*, whom nothing will please, writ to him hee was fitter to be a Gardiner then a Gouernour: some time he spent in digging of a great pond, but that worke proued altogether vnprofitable.

The second Assise.

About that time was held the second Assise. The greatest matter passed, was a Proclamation against the spoile of Cahowes; but it came too late, for they were most destroyed before: a platforme [*battery*] hee caused to be erected by *Pagits* Fort, where a good Fort were very necessary.

Captaine *Powell* not hauing performed his seruice in the West Indies [that] he conditioned with the Company, is sent thither againe by this Gouernour, and thirteene or fourteene of his best men, furnished with all things necessary. In the meane time the Company vnderstanding, that in Ianuary, February and March, there are many Whales; for which fishing they sent the Neptune, a

[1616–7] tall ship well prouided with euery thing fitting for that purpose. But before she arriued, Captaine *Tuckar*, who had brought also with him most prouisions for that imploiment, sent three good Shalops to try what could be done: but whether it was the swiftnes of the Whale in swimming, or the condition of the place, certaine it is for all their labour and hazard, they could kill none, though they strucke many.

1617. The third Assise. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

To begin his second yeere, he called the third Assise, where diuers were punished as their faults deserued: three were condemned to die; two were repri[e]ued, but the third was hanged: the next day there was also a leuy for the repairing two Forts; but that labour tooke not such effect as was intended, for want of good directions.

The countrey neere deuoured with rats.

But the great God of heauen being angry at somewhat happened in those proceedings, caused such an increase of silly rats, in the space of two yeeres so to abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed, but swimming from place to place, spread themselues into all parts of the Countrey, insomuch that there was no Iland but it was pestered with them; and some fishes haue beene taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in swimming from Ile to Ile: their nests they had almost in euery tree, and in most places their burrowes in the ground like conies: they spared not the fruits of the plants, or trees, nor the very plants themselues, but ate them vp. When they had set their corne, the rats would come by troupes in the night and scratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any escaped till it came to earing, it should then very hardly escape them: and they became noysome euen to the very persons of men.

They vsed all the diligence they could for the destroying of [186] them, nourishing cats both wilde and tame, for that purpose; they vsed ratsbane, and many times set fire on the woods, that oft ran halfe a mile before it was extinct; euery man was enioyned to set twelue traps, and some of their owne accord haue set neere an hundred, which they euer visited twice or thrice in a night; they also trained vp their dogges to hunt them, wherein they became so expert, that a good dog in two or three houres

would kil forty or fifty. Many other deuices they vsed to destroy them, but could not preuaile, finding them still increasing against them: nay they so deuoured the fruits of the earth, that they were destitute of bread for a yeere or two; so that when they had it afterwards, they were so wained [*weaned*] from it, they easily neglected to eat it with their meat. Besides they endeuoured so much for the planting [of] Tobacco for present gaine, that they neglected many things [that] might more haue preuailed for their good; which caused amongst them much weaknesse and mortality, since the beginning of this vermine. [1617]

At last it pleased God, but by what meanes it is not well knowne, to take them away; in so much that the wilde cats and many dogs which liued on them, were famished, and many of them leauing the woods, came downe to their houses, and to such places where they vse to garbish their fish, and became tame. Some haue attributed the destruction of them to the encrease of wild cats, but that is not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then foure yeeres before; and the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw some companies of them leaue the woods, and slew themselues for want of food. Others by the coldnesse of winter, which notwithstanding is neuer so great there as with vs in March, except it be in the wind: besides the rats wanted not the fethers of young birds and chickins, which they daily killed, and Palmeta mosse to build themselues warme nests out of the wind, as vsually they did; neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swimme from place to place, and bee very fat euen in the midst of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, so wee need not doubt, but that in the speedy encrease of this vermine; as also by the preseruation of so many of them by such weake meanes as they then enioyed, and especially in the so sudden remouall of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with and besides the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more mediate and secret worke of God. A strange confusion of rats.

About this time *Henry Long*, with seuen others in an extreame storme were cast away, but three of them

[1617] escaped. One of them being asked what hee thought in the worst of that extremity, answered, he thought [of] nothing but *gallowes claime thy right*: and it seemes God well heard his prayer, and rewarded his ingratitude; for he was hanged within halfe a yeere after.

In that March [1617] also fiue men went to Sea, but as yet was neuer heard of; and three more [were] drowned in a boat.

By *Hilliards* house grew a very faire Cedar, which by a thunder clap was rent almost to small shiuers, and a man [that] stood by him and *Samuel Tanton*, [was] most fearfully blasted; yet neither they, the house, nor a little childe: yet a paire of racks in the house was all torne to fitters.

The *Neptune* not long after arriuing to fish for whale, her fortune proued no better then the Gouernours; yet some are of opinion, profit might be made by them.

The returne of Master *Powel* from the Indies.

In May [1617] they discried foure saile, so that manning all their Forts, they stood two daies in Armes, expecting what they were: at last they found it Master *Powell* returned from the West-Indies in the *Hopewell*, where missing such trade as he expected, these three Frigots comming in his way, he could not chuse but take them. Meale, Hides and Munition was their lading. Faire weather the Gouernor made with *Powell*, till he had got all the goods into his owne possession, and then called *Powell* to a strict account for doing such an vnwarrantable act; much a doe then was betwixt the taker and receiuer: but *Powell* was glad to be excused to answer it in *England*, leauing all hee had taken behinde him in the Iles. The *Neptune* also returned with him, but noble *Powell* lost all his pay and pillage for [187] this yeeres worke. For which the Company sent for to *Tuckar*, so that he also lost his part as well as *Powell*.

Notwithstanding, the Gouernour by this meanes being strong in shipping, fitted the Caruill with twelue men, vnder the command of *Edward Waters* formerly spoken of, and sent them to *Virginia* about such businesse as hee had conceiued. Arriuing there, they obtained some goates, and hogs, and what they could spare, and so returned for the *Summer Iles*; but whether they could not finde the Iles for want of skill, or [were] beaten off by ill weather; or the ill will they bare the Gouernor, it matters not much:

[*Pp.* 591, 638, 640, 648, 649.]

but they bare vp again for *Virginia*, where they all remained, and would returne no more to *Summer Iles*. [1617-8]

The Gouernour thinking to make some vse of the hides, set some that professed themselues Tanners, to make tryall of their skill; but they lost their labours and spoiled the hides.

A supposed mutiny by Master *Pollard*, and Master *Rich*.

Also he called another Assise concerning a poore fellow called *Gabriel*, for concealing some speeches Master *Pollard* and Master *Rich* should vse, tending to the disreputation of the Gouernour, and his iniustice and cruelties; which being brought within the compasse of sedition and mutiny, though a yeere agoe: many were called in question about it, although euery one ordinarily had spoke as much. Yet *Gabriel* for example sake was condemned to bee hanged; and was vpon the ladder, but reprieued. The other two Master *Pollard*, and Master *Rich* were imprisoned; but vpon better consideration, the fact appeared so small and ridiculous, vpon their submission they were pardoned, and restored to their places.

The diuision of the Summer Iles into Tribes, by Master Richard Norwood, *Surueyor.*

1618. The diuision of the Iles into Tribes. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

ACcording to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, Master *Norwood* tooke a plot of the Ile, and diuided it with as much faithfulnes as he could, assigning to euery Aduenturer his share or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to bee called the generall land, and imployed for publike vses, as for the maintenance of the Gouernour, Ministers, Commanders of Forts, souldiers, and such like: and to this end was assigned *S. Georges* Iland, *S. Dauids* Iland, *Longbridge* Iland, *Smiths* Iland, *Coopers* Iland, *Cony* Iland, *Nonesuch* Iland, part of the maine, and sundry other small Iles. The rest was to be diuided into eight parts, each part to be called a tribe, and to haue his denomination of some principall person that was Aduenturer therein:

[1618] and accordingly the first Tribe to bee Eastward, was then called *Bedfords* Tribe, now *Hamiltons*: the second, *Smiths*: Tribe the third, *Cavendish*, now *Deuonshires*: the fourth, *Pembrooks*: the fift, *Pagits*: the sixt, *Mansils* now *Warwicks*: the seuenth, *Southhampton*: the eighth, *Sand*[*y*]*s*: in the honours of the Right honorable the Marquis *Hamilton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the *Lord Pagit*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Southhampton*, and Sir *Edwin Sand*[*y*]*s*.

Againe each of those Tribes were to bee diuided into fifty parts, called shares; and euery Aduenturer to haue his shares in these tribes as was determined, by casting lots in *England*, the manner of it appeares by the *Map*, and more largely by his Booke of the Suruay of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony.

And then began this which was before as you haue heard, but as an vnsetled and confused Chaos, to receiue a a disposition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation. [**188**]

The names of the Aduenturers, and their shares *in euery Tribe, according to the suruey, and* the best information yet ascertained, of any of their alterations.

Hamiltons Tribe.

	Share[s].
Iames L. Marquis Hamil[*ton*].	6
Sir Edward Harwood.	4
Master *Iohn Delbridge.*	3
Master *Iohn Dike*	3
Master *Ellis Roberts.*	2
Master *Robert Phips.*	1
Master *Ralph King.*	1
Master *Quicks assignes.*	2
Master *William Canni*[*n*]*g.*	4
Master *William Canni*[*n*]*g.*	1
Master *William Web.*	1
Master *Iohn Bernards assignes.*	2
Master *Elias Roberts Iun.*	1
Master *Iohn Gearing.*	2
Master *Cleophas Smith.*	2
Robert Earle of Warwick.	4
Master *Thomas Couell.*	3
Master *Greenwels assignes.*	1
Master *Cley.*	1
Master *Powlson.*	2
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1½
Common land for conueniency.	25
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1½

Master *George Thorps assignes.* 1

2. Smiths Tribe.

	Shares.
Sir Dudley Digs assignes.	2
Master *Richard Edwards.*	2
Master *William Pane.*	4
Master *Robert Smith.*	2
Master *George Barkley assignes.*	5
Sir Samuel Sand[y]s.	1
Master *Anthony Pennistone.*	4
Sir Edwin Sand[y]s.	5
Sir Thomas Smith.	5
Master *Richard More.*	4
Master *Ad[am] Brumfield.*	2
Master *Robert Iohnson Alderman.*	5
Master *Iohn Wroth.*	3
Master *George Smith.*	4

3. Deuonshire Tribe.

	Shares.
Master *Anthony Penistone.*	2
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1
Master *Iohn Bernards heires.*	2
Robert Earle of Warwick.	2
Master *Francis West.*	2
William Lord Cavendish.	5
William Earle of Deuonshire	5
Master *Edward Luckin.*	5
Master *Edward Ditchfield.*	1
Master *Edward Ditchfield.*	4
Master *William Nicols.*	2
Master *Edward Ditchfield.*	1
Master *Iohn Fletcher.*	2
Master *Gedion Delawne.*	2
Master *Anthony Pennistone.*	3
Master *Best.*	2
Master *Edward Luckin.*	2
Master *Richard Rogers.*	2
Master *William Palmer.*	4

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4. Pembrookes Tribe.

Master *George Smith.*	4
Gleab land.	2
Master *Nicholas Hide.*	1
Sir Lawrence Hide.	1
Master *Thomas Iudwyn.*	2
William Earle of Pembroke.	10
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *Harding.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *Elias Roberts.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *Iacobsons assignes.*	1
Master *Iohn Farrar.*	1
Master *Nicholas Farrar.*	1
Master *Nicholas Farrar.*	1
Master *William Canning.*	2
Master *Richard Martin.*	2
Master *Moris Abbot.*	2
Master *Richard Caswell.*	1
Master *Richard Caswell.*	2
Master *William Caswell.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	2
Master *Richard Caswell.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *George Sand[y]s assignes.*	2
Master *William Paine.*	2

5. Pagits Tribe.

Master *Iohn Chamberlaine.*	5
Master *Thomas Ayres, and* Master *Richard Wiseman.*	4
Master *Richard Wiseman.*	1
William Lord Pagit.	10

[1618]

Master *William Palmer.* 4
Master *Bagnell.* 5
Master *Iohn Bale.* 1
Master *Wheatley.* 4
Master *Christopher Barron.* 4
Master *Iohn Wodall.* 1
Master *Iohn Wodall.* 1
Master *Lewis.* 2
Master *Owen Arthors assignes.* 2
Master *George Etheridge.* 4
2
Sir VVilliam VVade. 1
Master *Iohn Bernards heires.* 1

6. Warwicks Tribe.

Shares.

Master *VVheatley.* 2
Captaine Daniel Tuckar. 2
Master *William Felgate.* 1
Robert Earle of Warwicke. 5
Master *George Smith.* 5
Master *Samuel Tickner.* 2
Master *Francis Mevell.* 1
Master *S[t]ephen Sparrow* 1
Master *Ioseph Man.* 5
Captaine Daniel Tuckar. 2
Master *Elias More.* 1
Doctor Anthony Hunton. 2
Master *Francis Moverill.* 1
Master *Richard Poulson.* 1
Master *Mathew Shephard.* 1
Master *George Tuckar.* 10
Master *Ch[arles] Clitheroe.* 1
Master *George Swinow.* 2
Master *Richard Tomlings.* 1
Master *Francis Meverill.* 1
Master *Iohn Waters.* 2
Master *Martin Bond.* 2

7. Southamptons Tribe.

Captaine Daniel Tuckar. 4
Master *Iohn Britton.* 1
Master *Richard Chamberland.* 3
Master *Leonard Harwods assignes.* 1
Master *Iohn Banks.* 1
Sir Nathanael Rich. 12
Robert Earle of VVarwicke. 3 [189]
Master *Richard More.* 6
Master *George Scot.*
Master *Edward Scot.* } 6
Master *Anthony Abdy.*
Henry Earle of Southampton. 4
Master *Andrew Broumfield.* 2
Master *Henry Timbed.* 2
Sir Thomas Hewet. 2
Master *Perce.* 1
Sir Ralph Winwood. 2

8. Sandys Tribe.

Shares.

M. *George Barcklies heires.* 5
Sir Edwin Sand[y]s. 5
Master *Ierom Hidon.* 10
Master *Thomas Millin and*
Master *Iohn Cuffe.* } 2
Master *Robert Chamberlaine* 2
Master *Abr. Chamberlaine.* 1
Master *George Smith.* 2
Master *Robert Gore.* 3
Sir Edward Sackvile. 1
Sir Iohn Dauers. 1
Master *Robert Gore.* 2
Master *Iohn Delbridge.* 1
Master *Iohn VVroth.* 1
Master *Iohn VVests heires.* 4
Master *Richard Chamberlaine.* 10

Touching the common ground in each Tribe, as also the ouer-plus, you may finde that at large in the Booke of Surueyes amongst their Records. [1618]

Now though the Countrey was small, yet they could not conueniently haue beene disposed and well setled, without a true description and a suruey of it; and againe, euery man being setled where he might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their houshold accordingly: then they built no more Cabbens, but substantiall houses; they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yeeld them their fruits in a few moneths, but also such as would affoord them profit within a few yeares, so that in a short time the Countrey began to aspire, and neerely approach vnto that happinesse and prosperitie, wherein now it flourisheth, &c.

But to follow the History; vpon the best plot of ground [that] could be found, the Gouernor preuailed so much with the generalitie, they built a faire house of Cedar: which being done, he appropriated it to himselfe, which occasioned exceeding much distaste. 1618.

About this time arriued the *Diana* with a good supply of men and prouision, and the first Magazin euer seene in those Iles; which course is not so much commended here, as cursed and abhorred by reason of enhansements of all the Inhabitants there; six or seuen weeks this ship staied, then hauing towards her fraught thirtie thousand [pounds] weight of Tobacco: which prouing good, and comming to a lucky Market, gave great encouragement to the Aduenturers to goe lustily forward in their Plantation; and without such successe, there is nothing but grudging and repining. The first Magazin.

But about the appropriation of this new built house, many bad discontents grew betwixt the oppressed Colony and the Gouernor; especially betwixt him and the Minister, and *Lewes*, who would neither be feared with threats nor imprisonment, that their malice continued till they met in *England*: of which the Minister made the cause so plaine, [that] hee very well and honestly, it seemes, discharged himselfe.

Now in those times of these endlesse vnciuill broiles, two desperate men and a proper Gentlewoman got into a

[1618] Boat, and thinking to make an escape to *Virginia*, as appeared by some Letters they left behinde them, were neuer more heard on.

Two exploits of desperate Fugitiues.

The very next moneth after, the like was attempted by six others, so desirous they were to be rid of their seruitude; but their plot being discouered by one of their societie, they were apprehended, arraigned, and condemned to be hanged: the next day being led with halters about their neckes to the place of execution, one was hanged, and the rest repri[e]ued.

The arriuall of the *Blessing*.

The *Diana* arriuing well in *England*, for all the infinite numbers of complaints, the Tobacco did helpe to sweeten all manner of grieuances; yet it bred a distaste in the opinions of so many, they began to thinke of another Gouernor: but for that time it was so qualified by diuers of his friends, they dispatched away the *Blessing*, which arriued in the *Somer Iles*.

Though their generall Letter was faire and courteous to the Gouernor, yet by the report of the Passengers and diuers particular letters from his friends, it was assured him his cruelty and couetousnesse, for all his paines and industry, was much disliked, nor was he like[ly] to enioy his [190] house, and that land he had planted for himselfe by the extreme oppression of the Comminalty. This caused so many ielousies to arise in his conceit, that at last he fully resolued to returne by this ship; that no sooner set saile for *England*, then they proceeded to the nomination of a new Gouernor.

Many were presented according to the affections of those that were to giue in their voices, but it chiefely rested betwixt one Captaine *Southwell*, and one Master *Nathaniel Butler*; where wee will leaue them a while to the consideration of the Court and Company.

Now Captaine *Tuckar* hauing instituted Captaine *Kendall* one of the six Gouernors before spoken of, for his substitute, returned with this ship directly for *England*; as well to excuse himselfe of those obiections he suspected, as to get assured him the house and land he had alotted for himselfe, lest it might otherwise be disposed of in his absence.

Collected out of their Records by N.B. *and the relations of Master* Pollard, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Miles Kendall, *Deputy for Captaine* Tuckar.

THE vnexpected returne [*to England*] of Captaine *Tuckar*, caused a demurre in the election of the new Gouernor; some perswading these oft changes were so troublesome, dangerous, and chargeable, it were best to continue Captaine *Kendall*; others againe stood for Captaine *Tuckar*: but during the time of these opinions, the *Gilliflower* was dispatched with a supply. [1618] The arriuall of two ships.

Now I should haue remembred, *Tuckar* was no sooner out of the harbour, but he met Master *Elfred* in a ship called the *Treasurer*, sent from *Virginia* to trade: by her he writ to his Deputy Master *Kendall*, to haue a care of all things, and beware of too much acquaintance with this ship, which hee suspected was bound for the West-Indies. Notwithstanding, *Elfred* receiued what kindnesse the Ile could afford; he promised to reuisit them at his returne. This done, because they would not be gouernlesse when his Deputiship was expired, there was a generall assembly, and by that Election *Kendall* was confirmed to succeed still Gouernor.

Now they began to apply themselues to the finishing [of] someplat-forme about *Smiths* Fort, and laying thefoundation of a Church to be built of Cedar, till the *Gillyflower* arriued with some priuate letters to *Kendall*, how he was elected Gouernor of those Iles for three yeeres.

During her stay, they held their Assises, where for some

[1618-9] few suspected facts three were condemned, and the better to terrifie the rest, led to the place of execution, but reprieued; diuers of the rest had their faults pardoned, and the *Gilliflower* set saile for *New found land.*

Captaine *Butler* chosen Gouernor.

The loue and kindnesse, honesty and industry of this Captaine *Kendall*, hath beene very much commended; by others, somewhat disliked: but an Angell in those imploiments cannot please all men, yet this consideration bred much ill bloud as well here as there, so that the Company directly concluded, Captaine *Butler* should with what expedition they could, goe to be their Gouernor:

In the *Interim* they tooke the opportunitie of a ship, called the *Sea-flower*, bound for Virginia; and by her sent a Preacher and his Family, with diuers Passengers, and newes of a new Gouernor. This bred a great distaste amongst many, that still they should haue new officers and strangers for their Gouernors they neuer heard of, and themselues still kept there whether they would or no, without any preferment, no nor scarce any of them their inhabiting, to haue any land at all of their owne, but liue all as tenants, or as other mens poore seruants.

About this time came in Captaine *Kerby* with a small Barke from the West-Indies: who hauing refreshed himselfe, was very kindly vsed by the Gouernor; [**191**] and so departed.

Not long after a Dutch Frigot was cast away vpon the Westerne shore; yet by the helpe of the English they saued the men, though the ship perished amongst the Rocks.

A little after, one Ensigne *Wood* being about the loading of a peece, by thrusting a pike into the concauitie, grating vpon the shot, or somewhat about the powder, strucke fire within her and so discharged, but wounded him cruelly and blew him into the Sea: though hee was got out by some that stood by him, yet hee died of those wounds.

Within two or three daies after, Captaine *Elfred* now comes in a second time: but of that we shall say more in the gouernment of Captaine *Butler*; who presently after arriued with a good supply, and was kindly entertained by Captaine *Kendall* and all the Colony.

From a relation of Thomas Sparks, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Nathaniel Butler.

CAptaine *Butler* being arriued the twentieth of October, 1619. some mutterings there was how to maintaine their election of Captaine *Kendall*; but better remembring themselues, that conceit quickly dissolued. [1619]

The next day [20 *Oct.*], *Kendall*, the Ministers, and the Counsell went aboord to salute the new Gouernor, where after they had dined with the best entertainment he could giue them; they saw the Redout belonging to the Kings Castle by a mischance on fire, whither he repaired with all the meanes he could to quench it; but all the platforme and cariages were consumed before their faces, and they could not helpe it. A plat-forme burnt, and much hurt by a *Hericano*. 1619.

Two daies after he went vp to the Towne, had his Commission publikely read, made a short speech to the Company, and so tooke vpon him the gouernment. Then presently he began to repaire the most necessary defects.

The next moneth, came in the *Garland*, sent from *England* six or seuen weekes before him; so that being seuenteene weeks in her voyage, it was so tedious and grieuous to diuers of the Fresh-water Passengers, that such a sicknesse bred amongst them, many died as well Sailers as Passengers. Hauing taken the best order he could for their releefe, [he] passed through all the Tribes, and held his first Assise in Captaine *Tuckars* house [*p.* 665] at the ouer-plus [*i.e., on the spare land not yet appropriated to any particular share*].

Towards the last of this moneth of Nouember [1619] there arose a most terrible storme or *Hericano*, that blew vp many great trees by the roots: the *Warwick* that

[1619-20] brought the Gouernor was cast away, but the *Garland* [that] rid by her, saued her selfe by cutting downe her Masts; and not long after a second storme, no lesse violent then the first, wherein the Mount (which was a frame of wood built by Master *More* for a Watch-tower to looke out to Sea) was blowne vp by the roots, and all that Winter crop of corne blasted. And thus was the new Gouernor welcomed.

The refortifying the Kings Castle.

With the beginning of the new yeere [1620] he began his first peece of fortification, vpon a Rocke which flankers the Kings Castle, and finding the ship called the *Treasurer* starke rotten and vnseruiceable, hee tooke nine peeces of Ordinance from her to serue other vses. The *Garland* for want of meanes, could not make her voiage to *Virginia* as she was appointed; wherefore he entertained her to returne to *England*, with all the Tabacco they had in the Ile. It was Ianuary [1620] before she departed, in which time, shee failed not much to haue beene twice cast away.

But those strange and vnauoidable mischances, rather seemed to quicken the Gouernors industry then to dull it. Hauing finished the Church begun by Captaine *Kendall*, with an infinite toile and labour he got three peeces out [*pp.* 669, 674.] of the wracke *VVarwicke*. Hauing an excellent Dutch Carpinter he entertained of them that were cast away in the Dutch Frigot; he imploied him in building of Boats, whereof they were in exceeding great want.

In February [1620], they discouered a tall ship beating too and againe, as it seemed by her working, being ignorant of the Coast; some thought her a *Spaniard* to view their Forts, which stand most to [**192**] that part she so neerely approached; some, English; but the most, some Dutch man of Warre: The wind blew so high, they durst not send out a Boat, though they much doubted she would be foule of their Rocks; but at last she bore vp rommy for the Sea, and we heard of her no more.

Amber-greece found.

That euening, a lucky fellow it should seeme he was, that found a peece of Ambergreece of eight ounces, as he had twice before; which bringing to the Gouernor, he had ready money for the one halfe, after three pound an ounce, according to their order of Court, to encourage others to looke out for more, and preuent the mischiefe insueth by concealing of it.

Within a few daies after, they descried two Frigots that came close to the shore, and sent a Letter to the Gouernor, writ in *Italian*, that they were *Hollanders* had beene in the West-Indies, and desired but to arriue, refresh themselues with wood and water, and so be gone. The Gouernor forthwith sent them to vnderstand, that being there vnder his Maiestie of *England* to command those Iles, he was to carrie himselfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; if therefore he could shew a lawfull Commission for his being honestly and nobly emploied, he and his should be kindly welcome, otherwise they were to aduenture at their perills. [1620]

The arriuall of two Dutch Frigots.

But his Commission was so good, he staied there two moneths, and was so well fitted with Oile and Bacon, they were all glad and happy of this Dutch Captaine *Scoutans* arriuall; with many thanks to their old friend Captaine *Powell* that had conducted him thither. The Colony being exceedingly in great want and distresse, bought the most part of it at reasonable rates; so Captaine *Scoutan* returned to the West-Indies, and Captaine *Powell* for his part in the Low-Countries.

Whilest these things were in action, the Aduenturers in *England* made many a long looke for their ships; at last the *Garland* brought them all the newes, but the Tobacco was so spoiled either in the leaking ship, or the making vp, it caused a great suspicion there could none [that] was good come from those Iles; where (were they but perfit in the cure) questionlesse it would be much better then a great quantitie of that they sell for *Verinas*, and many a thousand of it in *London* hath beene bought and sold by that title.

The differences betwixt the Ministers.

The Gouernor being cleere of those distractions, falls vpon the restoring of the burnt Redoubt, where he cuts out a large new plat-forme, and mounts seuen great peece[s] of Ordnance vpon new cariages of Cedar. Now amongst all those troubles, it was not the least to bring the two Ministers to subscribe to the Booke of Common Praier, which all the Bishops in *England* could not doe. Finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, [he] bethought himselfe of the Liturgie of *Garnsey and Iarse*, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted. No sooner was this propounded, but it was gladly imbraced

[1620] by them both, whereupon the Gouernor translated it *verbatim* out of French into English, and caused the eldest Minister vpon Easter day [16 *April* 1620] to begin the vse thereof at *Saint Georges* towne; where himselfe, most of the Councell, Officers and Auditorie receiued the Sacrament: the which forme they continued during the time of his gouernment.

Much about this time, in such a faire morning that had inuited many Boats farre out to the Sea to fish, did rise such a *Hericano* that much indangered them all, so that one of them with two Boies were driuen to Sea and neuer more heard of.

The rebuilding the Mount.

The Ministers thus agreed, a Proclamation was published for keeping of the Sabbath; and all the defective cariages he endeuoured to haue renewed; [he also] builded a small Boat of Cedar onely to goe with Ores, to be ready vpon any occasion to discouer any shipping, and tooke order euery Fort should haue the like. Also caused numbers of Cedars to be brought from diuers places in flotes, to rebuild the Mount, which with an vnspeakable toile, was raised seuen foot higher then before, and a Falcon mounted at the foot, to be alwaies discharged for a warning to all the Forts vpon the discouery of any shipping: and this he called Rich Mount. This exceeding toile and labour, hauing no Cattle but onely mens [**193**] strengths, caused many petitions to the Gouernour, that all those generall works might cease till they had reaped their haruests, in that they were in great distresse for victuall; which hee so well answered, their owne shames did cause them desist from that importunity, and voluntarily performe as much as hee required.

The Tombe of Sir *George Summers*.

Finding accidentally a little crosse erected in a by place, amongst a many of bushes, vnderstanding there was buried the heart and intrailes of Sir *George Summers*, hee resolued to haue a better memory for so worthy a Souldier, then that. So finding also a great Marble stone brought out of *England*, hee caused it by Masons to bee wrought handsomely and laid ouer the place, which hee inuironed with a square wall of hewen stone, Tombe like; wherein hee caused to bee grauen this *Epitaph* he had composed, and fixed it vpon the Marble stone; and thus it was,

In the yeere 1 6 1 1, [1620]
Noble Sir George Summers *went hence to heauen*;
Whose well tri'd worth that held him still imploid,
Gaue him the knowledge of the world so wide.
Hence 't was by heauens decree, that to this place
He brought new guests, and name to mutuall grace.
At last his soule and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart.

Their manner of lawes reformed.

Vpon the sixt of Iune [1620], began the second Assise, that reduced them to the direct forme vsed in *England*. For besides the Gouernour and Councell: they haue the Bailiffes of the Tribes, in nature of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shires in *England*, for to them are all precepts and warrants directed, and accordingly answered and respected; they performe also the duties of Iustices of Peace, within their limits. The subordinate Officers to these in euery tribe, are the Constables, Head-borowes, and Church-wardens; these are the triers of the Tobacco, which if they allow not to be marchantable, is burnt: and these are the executioners of their ciuill and politicke causes.

Martiall Officers.

For points of warre and martiall affaires, they haue the Gouernour for Lieutenant generall, the Sergeant maior, Master of Ordinance, Captaines of Companies, Captaines of Forts, with their seuerall officers, to traine and exercise those numbers vnder their charge, in martiall discipline.

Ciuill Officers and Courts.

Concerning their Courts for decision of right and iustice, the first, though last in constitution, is their generall assembly; allowed by the state in *England*, in the nature of a Parliament, consisting of about forty persons; *viz.* the Gouernour, the Counsell, the Bailiffes of the tribes, and two Burgesses of each tribe chosen by voyces in the tribe, besides such of the Clergie as the Gouernour thinkes most fit, to be held once a yeere, as you shal heare more thereof hereafter.

The next Court is the Assise or Iayles of deliuerie, held twice euery yeere, in Christmas, and Whitson weeke, for all criminall offenders, and ciuill causes betwixt party and party; as actions of debt, trespasse, battery, slander,

[1620] and the like: and these are determined by a Iury of twelue men, and aboue them is also a grand Iury to examine matters of greater consequence.

The last day of the Assise might also well be held a Court, for hearing the trangressions in matters of contempt, misbehauiour towards any Magistrate, riots, seditious speakers, contemners of warrants, and such like.

There are also as occasion shall require, many matters heard by the Gouernor, or his Officers, and oft iustice done in seuerall places; but those are but as daies of hearing, and as preparatiues against their Courts, &c.

The second Assise. At this last Assize eighteene were arrained for criminall causes, a number very extraordinary considering the place; but now occasioned by reason of the hard yeere, and the store of ill chosen new commers: of these, some were censured to the whipping post, some burned in the hand, but two were condemned to die, yet the one was reprieued, the other hanged; this done, euery man returned to his home.

[*pp.* 669, 670.] Many trials they made againe about the Warwicke, but to small purpose, [**194**] her Ordnance being lashed so fast they could not be vnlcosed, till the ropes and decks were rotten, yet some few buttes of beare being flotie they got, which though it had lien six moneths vnder water was very good: notwithstanding the next yeere [1621], they recouered fiue peeces of Ordnance.

A generall assemblie in manner [of] a Parliament. Vpon the first of August [1620], according to the Companies instructions from *England*, began the generall assembly at the towne of Saint *George*, which was the first these Iles euer had: consisting as is said, of the Gouernour, Councell, Bailiffes, and Burgesses, and a Secretarie to whom all bils were presented, and by him openly read in the house, also a Clerke to record the Acts, being thirty two in all; fifteene of which [Acts] being sent into *England*, were by a generall consent receiued and enacted, the titles whereof are these following: as for all the reasons for them, they would be too tedious to recite.

Their Acts. The first was against the vniust sale and letting of apprentises and other seruants, and this was especially for the righting the vndertakers in *England*.

The second, concerning the disposing of aged,

diseased, and impotent persons: for it being considered how carelesse many are in preferring their friends, or sending sometimes any they can procure to goe, such vnseruiceable people should be returned back at their charge that sent them, rather then be burdensome to the poore Inhabitants in the Iles. [1620]

The third, the necessary manning the Kings Castle, being the key of the Ile, that a garison of twelue able men should bee there alwaies resident: and 3000. eares of corne, and 1000. pounds of Tobacco payed them by the generality yeerely, as a pension.

The fourth, against the making vnmarchantable Tobacco; and Officers sworne to make true trials, and burne that was naught.

The fift, inioyned the erection of certaine publike bridges, and the maintenance of them.

The sixt, for a continuall supply of victuall for all the Forts, to bee preserued, till some great occasion to vse it.

The seuenth was, for two fixed dayes euery yeere for the Assises.

The eight, commands the making of high-waies, and prohibiting the passage ouer mens grounds and planted fields; as well to preuent the spoyling of gardens, as conueniencie to answer any alarum.

The ninth, for the preseruing young tortoises and birds, that were carelesly destroyed.

The tenth prouided against vagabonds, and prohibited the entertainement of other mens seruants.

The eleuenth compelled the setting of a due quantity of corne for euery family.

The twelfth, the care corne being set, enioyned the keeping vp of their poultry till it was past their reaches.

The thirteenth, for the preseruation of sufficient fences, and against the felling of marked trees appointed for bounds.

The fourteenth, granted to a leuy for a thousand pound weight of Tobacco, towards the payment of publike workes, as the bridges and the mount.

The fifteenth, for the enioyning an acknowledgement

[1620] and acception of all resident Gouernours, and the warranting him to continue, though his time be expired, till the arriuall of a legitimate successor from *England*, to preuent all vnmeet and presumptuous elections: besides it was desired by petition in *England*, the new Gouernour should liue two months as a priuate man after his arriuall, if his predecessor did stay so long, the better to learne and obserue his course.

And these are the contents of those fifteene Acts, applied as you may perceiue: which the lawes of *England* could not take notice of, because euery climate hath somewhat to it selfe in that kinde in particular; for otherwise as it is conceiued, it had beene a high impudency and presumption to haue medled with them, or indeed with any such as these lawes, that had with such great iudgement and iustice alwaies prouided for.

The arriuall of the *Magazin* ship.

No sooner was this businesse ouer, but the *Magazin* ship is discouered, and that night came into the Harbour; but in a very weake and sickly case, hauing cast ouer board twenty or thirty of her people: and so violent was the infection, that the most part of the sailers, as well as passengers, were so sicke, or dismaid, or both, that the Master confessed, had they stayed at the Sea but a weeke longer, they had all perished.

There arriued with this ship diuers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their wiues and families; but many of them crasie by the tediousnesse of the voyage: [**195**] howsoeuer most of them, by the excellent salubrity of the aire, then which the world hath not a better, soone after recouered; yet some there were that died presently after they got ashore: it being certainly the quality of the place, either to kill, or cure quickly, as the bodies are more or lesse corrupted.

By this ship the Company sent a supply of ten persons for the generality, but of such bad condition that it seemed they had picked the Males out of *Newgate*, the Females from *Bridewell*: As the Gouernour found it his best course, to grant out the women to such as were so greedy of wiues, and would needs haue them for better for worse; and the men hee placed in the Kings Castle for souldiers.

But this bad, weake, sickly supply being dispersed for their best reliefe, by the much imployment of his boats in remoouing them, many of his owne men became infected, so that for some weekes, they were not able to doe him any seruice at all. [1620]

Strict instructions also they brought for the planting of Sugar canes, for which the Iland being rockie and dry, is so vnproper, that few as yet haue beene seene to prosper: yet there are others [that] hold the contrary opinion, that there is raine so ordinarily, the Iles are so moist, as produceth all their plants in such infinit abundance: there is no great reason to suspect this, were it rightly vsed, more then the rest.

Seuenty thousand [pounds] weight of Tobacco being prepared towards her fraught, she returned for *England*. 70000. weight of Tobacco.

No sooner was shee gone then came in another, sent by the Company and generalty, well conditioned; but shee failed not much to haue beene cast away amongst those dangerous and terrible rocks. By her came also expresse command, they should entertaine no other ships, then were directly sent from the Company: this caused much grudging, and indeed a generall distraction and exclamation among the Inhabitants, to be thus constrained to buy what they wanted, and sell what they had at what price the *Magazin* pleased; and to debarre true men from comming to them for trade or reliefe, that were daily receiued in all the harbours in *England*. So long this ship stayed going for fraught and wages, the Master not caring how long he lay at that rate in a good harbour, [that] the Gouernour was ready to send her away by Proclamation. Thus ended the first yeere of the gouernment of C[aptaine] *Butler*.

With the first [? days] of the second yeere were held the Assises, where all the Bailiffes were fined for not giuing a beginning to the building of the bridges; there was also an order to restraine the excessiue wages all handicrafts men would haue: and that the Church-wardens should meet twice a yeere, to haue all their presentments made perfect against the Assises. 1620. The building of three bridges and other works.

The Assises done, all the ablest men were trained in their armes, and then departed to their owne homes.

[1621] The towne thus cleered, he made certaine new carriages for some demy Culuerings, and a large new storehouse of Cedar for the yeerely *Magazines* goods; finished *Warwicks* Fort begun by Master *More*, and made a new platforme at *Pagits* Fort, also a faire house of lime and stone for the Townes-house. The three bridges appointed by the generall assembly, was followed with such diligence, [that] though they were more then an hundred, or an hundred and twenty foot in length, hauing the foundation and arches in the Sea, [they] were raised and accomplished, so that man or beast with facility might passe them.

The generall Assises, and the proceedings.

At Whitsonday [20 *May* 1621] was held the fourth generall Assise at Saint *Georges*, where were tryed twenty seuerall causes: foure or fiue were whipped or burnt in the hand, for breaking of houses: also an order was made, that the party cast in the triall of any cause, should pay to euery of the Iurours foure pence: moreouer, that not past ten leaues at the most should grow vpon a plant of Tobacco, and that also in the making it vp, a distinction should diligently be obserued of two kinds, a better and a worse: then they built a strong stone house for the Captaine of the Kings Castle and *corps du guard*; and repaired what defects they could finde in the platformes and carriages.

Captaine *Powell* so oft mentioned, hauing beene in the West-Indies for the States of *Holland*, came to an anchor within shot of their Ordnance, desiring admittance for wood and water, of which hee had great need, but the Gouernor [**196**] would not permit him, so he weighed and departed; whereat the company were so madded, it was not possible to constraine them to cease their exclaimations against the Companies inhibition, till they were weary with excla[i]ming. But still for their better defence, not thinking themselues sufficiently secure, hauing finished two new plat-formes more, arriued the Magazin ship [*Sept.* 1621]: but her Master was dead, and many of the Passengers; the rest for most part very sicke. And withall, a strange and wonderfull report of much complaint made against the Gouernor to the Company in *England*, by some of them returned in the last yeeres shipping. But it was eight daies before she could get in by reason of ill weather, being forced againe to Sea; so that time, they kept euery

night continually great fires, [that] she might see the Ile as well by night as day: but at last she arriued, and he plainly vnderstood, he had more cause a great deale to looke for misconstruction of all his seruice then an acknowledgment, much lesse a recompence any better then his predecessors; but it is no new thing to requite the best desert with the most vildest of ingratitude. [1621]

A strange deliuerance of a Spanish wracke.

The very next daies night after the arriuall of the Magazins ship, newes was brought the Gouernor by a dismaied Messenger from *Sand[y]s* his Tribe, that one hundred *Spaniards* were landed in that part, and diuers ships discouered at Sea; whereupon he presently manned the Forts, and instantly made thitherward in person with twentie men, determining as he found cause to draw together more strength by the way. Being got thither by the breake of the next day, in stead of an enemy which he expected, he met onely with a company of poore distressed *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, who in their passage from *Carthagena* in the *West-Indies*, in consort with the Spanish fleet of Plait [*the annual Plate Fleet, taking the treasure to Spain*]; by the same storme that had indangered the Magazin ship, lost theirs vpon those terrible Rocks, being to the number of seuenty persons, [who] were strangely preserued; and the manner was thus.

About Sunne-set their ship beating amongst the Rocks, some twenty of the Sailers got into the Boat with what treasure they could; leauing the Captaine, the Master, and all the rest to the mercy of the Sea. But a Boy not past foureteene yeares of age that leaped after, to haue got into the Boat; missing that hope, it pleased God he got vpon a Chest a drift by him: whereon they report he continued two daies, and was driuen neere to the cleane contrary part of the Ile, where he was taken vp neere dead, yet well recouered. All this night the ship sticking fast, the poore distressed in her the next day spying land, made a raft; and were those [that] gaue the alarum first a shore about three of the clocke in the after noone.

The morning after, about seuen of the clocke came in the Boat to a place called *Mangroue Bay*; and the same day their Carpenter was driuen a shore vpon a Planke neere *Hog-Bay*. There was a Gentlewoman that had stood wet

[1621] vp to the middle vpon the raft from the ship to the shore, being big with childe; and although this was vpon the thirteenth of September, [1621] she tooke no hurt, and was safely deliuered of a Boy within three daies after.

The best comfort [that] could be giuen them in those extremities they had, although some of the baser sort had beene rifling some of them before the Gouernors arriuall. Also the Spanish Captaine and the chiefe with him, much complained of the treachery of his men to leaue him in that manner, yet had conueyed with them the most of the money they could come by, which he easily missed; whereupon hee [*Butler*] suddenly caused all them he accused, to be searched, and recouered to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds starling: which he deliuered into the Captaines hands, to be imploied in a generall purse towards their generall charge. During their stay in the Iles, some of the better sort, nine or ten weeks [13 *Sept.*—? 12 *Nov.*], dieted at his owne table; the rest were billited amongst the Inhabitants at foure shillings the weeke, till they found shipping for their passage, for which they paied no more then the English paied themselues; and for the passage of diuers of them, the Gouernor was glad to stand bound to the Master. Some others that were not able to procure such friendship, were so constrained to stay in the Iles, till by their labours they had got [**197**] so much as would transport them: and thus they were preserued, releeued, and deliuered.

In the moneth insuing [*October* 1621] arriued the second ship; and she also had lost her Master, and diuers of her Passengers: in her came two *Virginian* Women [*these were of the Indian maids that had gone to England in* 1616, *in attendance on Pocahontas*] to be married to some would haue them, that after they were conuerted and had children, they might be sent to their Countrey and kindred to ciuilize them.

Towards the end of this moneth [*Oct.*] came in the third ship with a small Magazin; [she] hauing sold what she could, caried the rest to *Virginia*: and neuer did any of those Passengers complaine either of their good diet, or too good vsage at sea; but the cleane contrary still occasioned many of those extremities.

[1621] The fift of Nouember [1621] the damnable plot of the powder treason was solemnized, with Praiers, Sermons, and a great Feast: whereto the Gouernor inuited the chiefe of the *Spaniards*, where drinking the Kings health, it was honored with a quicke volly of small shot, which was answered from the Forts with the great Ordnance, and then againe concluded with a second volley of small shot; neither was the afternoone without musicke and dancing, and at night many huge bone-fires of sweet-wood.

How they solemnized the powder treason, and the arriuall of two ships.

The *Spaniards* to expresse their thankfulnesse, at their departure, made a deed of gift to the Gouernor of whatsoeuer he could recouer of the wracked ship; but the ships as they went out came so dangerously vpon a Rock, that the poore *Spaniards* were so dismaied, swearing this place was ominous vnto them, especially the women, that desired rather to goe a shore and die howsoeuer, than aduenture any further in such a labyrinth of dangers: but at last she got cleere without danger, and well to *England*.

The Spaniards returne, and in danger againe. 1621.

The other went to *Virginia*, wherein the Gouernor sent two great Chests filled with all such kinds and sorts of Fruits and Plants as their Ilands had; as Figs, Pomgranats, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar-canes, Plantanes, Potatoes, Papawes, Cassado roots, red Pepper, the Prickell Peare, and the like.

The ships thus dispatched, hee goeth into the maine, and so out to sea to the Spanish wracke. He had beene there before, presently after her ruine; for neuer had ship a more sudden death, being now split in peeces all vnder water. He found small hope to recouer any thing, saue a Cable and an Anchor, and two good Sacars; but the wind was so high hee was forced to returne, being ten miles from the shore, onely with three Murderers [*small cannon*], which were knowne to be the same Captaine *Kendall* had sold to Captaine *Kerby*: whose ship was taken by two men of warre of *Carthagena*, the most of his men slaine or hanged, and he being wounded, died in the woods. Now their Pilot being at this seruice, got thus those three Murderers to their ship; and their ship thus to the *Bermudas*, as the *Spaniards* remaining related to the Gouernor and others.

Three English Murderers found in the Spanish wracke.

Hauing raised three small Bulwarkes at *Southhamptons*

[1621-2] Fort, with two Curtaines, and two Rauilings, which indeed is onely the true absolute peece of fortification in the Iles.

Their Assises, and other passages.

Christmas [1621] being come, and the prefixed day of the Assise; diuers were whipped and burnt in the hand, onely three young boyes for stealing were condemned, and at the very point of hanging repri[e]ued. The Gouernour then sent his Lieutenant all ouer the maine to distribute Armes to those were found most fit to vse them, and to giue order[s] for their randezuous, which were hanged vp in the Church.

About this time it chanced a pretty secret to be discouered to preserue their corne from the fly, or weauell, which did in a manner as much hurt as the rats. For the yeere before [1620] hauing made a Proclamation that all Corne should be gathered by a certaine day; because many lazy persons [*p.* 676.] ranne so after the ships to get Beere and *Aquavitæ*, for which they will giue any thing they haue, much had beene lost for want of gathering. This yeare [1621] hauing a very faire crop, some of the Inhabitants, none of the best husbands, hastily gathered it for feare of the penaltie, threw it in great heaps into their houses vnhusked, and so let it lie foure or fiue moneths, which was thought would haue spoiled it: where the good husbands husked it, and with much labour hung it vp, where the Flies did so blow on it, they increased to so many Weauels, they generally [**198**] complained of great losse; but those good fellowes that neuer cared but from hand to mouth, made their boasts, that not a graine of theirs had beene touched nor hurt; there being no better way to preserue it then by letting it lie in its huske, and spare an infinite labour formerly [that] had beene vsed.

There were also very luckily about this time found out diuers places of fresh water, of which many of the Forts were very destitute; and the Church-wardens and Side-men were very busie in correcting the prophaners of the Sabbath, Drunkards, Gamesters, and such like.

There came also from *Virginia* a small Barke with many thanks for the presents sent them: much Aquauitæ, Oile, Sacke, and Bricks they brought in exchange of more Fruits and Plants, Ducks, Turkies and Limestone; of which she had plenty, and so returned.

During the aboad of the stay of this ship, the mariage of

one of the *Virginia* maides was consummated with a husband fit for her, attended with more then one hundred guests, and all the dainties for their dinner [that] could be prouided. [1622]

They made also another triall to fish for Whales, but it tooke no more effect then the former: this was done by the Master of the *Virginia* ship that professed much skill that way, but hauing fraughted his ship with Limestone, with 20000. [pounds] weight of Potatoes, and such things as he desired, [he] returned for *Virginia*.

Aprill and May [1622] were spent in building a strong new Prison, and perfecting some of the Fortifications, and by the labour of twenty men in fourteene daies was got from the Spanish wracke foure excellent good Sacres, and mounted them at the Forts.

Then began the generall Assize [*June* 1622], where not fewer then fifty ciuill, or rather vnciuill actions were handled, and twenty criminall prisoners brought to the bar; such a multitude of such vild people were sent to this Plantation, that he [*Butler*] thought himselfe happy his time was so neere expired: three of the foulest acts were these: the first for the rape of a married woman, which was acquitted by a senselesse Iury; the second for buggering a Sow, and the third for Sodomy with a boy, for which they were hanged. A strange Sodomy.

During the time of the imprisonment of this Buggerer of the Sow, a Dung-hill Cocke belonging to the same man did continually haunt a Pigge of his also, and to the wonder of all them that saw it, who were many, did so frequently tread the Pigge as if it had beene one of his Hens, that the Pigge languished and died within a while after; and then the Cocke resorted to the very same Sow (that this fellow was accused for) in the very same manner: and as an addition to all this, about the same time two Chickens were hatched, the one whereof had two heads; the other crowed very loud and lustily within twelue houres after it was out of the shell.

A desperate fellow being to bee arraigned for stealing a Turky, rather then he would endure his triall, secretly conueighed himselfe to Sea in a little Boat, and neuer since was euer heard of; nor is he euer like to be, without an exceeding wonder, little lesse then a miracle.

In Iune [1622] they made another triall about the Spanish

[1622] More trialls about the wracks.

wracke, and recouered another Sacre and a Murderer: also he caused to be hewed out of the maine Rocke a paire of large staires for the conuenient landing of goods and passengers, a worke much to the beauty and benefit of the towne. With twenty chosen men, and two excellent Divers, the Gouernour went himselfe to the wracke *Warwick*, but they could recouer but one Murderer [*a small cannon*]: from thence he went to the *Sea-aduenture*, the wracke of Sir *George Summers*, the hull though two or three fathomes in the water, they found vnperished and with much a doe weighed a Sacre, her sheat Anchor, diuers barres of Iron and pigs of Lead, which stood the Plantation in very great stead.

Towards the end of Iuly [1622] he went to seeke for a wracke they reported lay vnder water with her hatches spiked vp, but they could not finde her, but from the Spanish wracke [which] lay there by, they weighed three faire Sacres more, and so returned through the Tribes to Saint *Georges*: some were also imployed to seeke out beds of Oisters for Pearle, some they found, some seed Pearle they got, but out of one little shell aboue all the rest they got about 120. small Pearle, but somewhat defectiue in their colour. [**199**]

The Planters complaints.

The time of Captain *Butlers* gouernment drawing neere an end, the Colony presented vnto him diuers grieuances, to intreat him to remember to the Lords and Company in *England* at his returne: also they appointed two to be ioyned with him, with letters of credence to solicit in their behalfe those grieuances following:

First, they were defrauded of the food of their soules: for being not fewer then one thousand and fiue hundred people, dispersed in length twenty miles, they had at that present but one Minister, nor neuer had but two; and they [had been] so shortned of their promises, that but onely for meere pity they would haue forsaken them.

Secondly, neglected in the safety of their liues by wants of all sorts of munition.

Thirdly, they had beene censured contrary to his Maiesties Lawes, and not allowed them the benefit of their booke as they are in *England*, but by Captaine *Butler*.

Fourthly, they were frustrated of many of their couenants, and most extremely pinched and vndone by the extortion of the Magazine; for although their Tobacco was stinted but at two shillings sixpence the pound, yet they pitched their commodities at what rate they pleased. [1622]

Fifthly, their fatherlesse children are left in little better condition then slaues; for if their Parents die in debt, their children are made as bondmen till the debt be discharged.

These things being perfected, there grew a great question of one *Heriot* for plotting of factions and abusing the Gouernour, for which he was condemned to lose his eares, yet he was vsed so fauourably he lost but the part of one in all.

The returne of Captaine *Butler.*

By this time it being growne past the wonted season of the comming in of ships from *England*, after a generall longing and expectation, especially of the Gouernour, whose Commission being neere vpon expiration, gaue him cause to wish for a meane of deliuerance from so troublesome and thanklesse an imploiment as he had hitherto found it; a saile is discouered, and long it was not before shee arriued in the Kings Castle-Harbour.

This Barke was set out by two or three priuate men of the Company, and hauing landed her supplies, was to goe for *Virginia*; by her the Gouernour receiued certaine aduertisements of the carriage and behauiour of the Spaniards, which he had relieued as you haue heard [*p.* 680] the yeere before: that quite contrary both to his merit, their vow, and his owne expectation, they made clamours against him; the which being seconded by the Spanish Ambassadour, caused the State to fall in examination about it.

Whereupon hauing fully cleared their ingratefulnesse and impudency, and being assured of the choice of a successor that was to be expected within fiue or six weekes; hee was desirous to take the opportunity of this Barke, and to visit the Colony in *Virginia* in his returne for *England* [*p.* 603]: leauing the gouernment to Captaine *Felgat*, Captaine *Stokes*, Master *Lewis Hewes*, Master *Nedom* and Master *Ginner*.

[1622] But now his time being fully expired, and the fortifications finished, *viz.*

The *Kings Castle* wherein were mounted vpon sufficient Platformes fixteene peece of Ordnances:

In *Charles* Fort two;

In *Southampton* Fort fiue, betwixt which and the Castle passeth the Chanell into the Harbour, secured by three and twenty peeces of good artillery to play vpon it.

In *Cowpers* Ile is *Pembrocks* Fort, where is two Peeces.

The Chanell of Saint *George* is guarded by *Smiths* Fort, and *Pagits* Fort, in which is eleuen peece of Ordnance. Saint *George* towne is halfe a league within the Harbour, commanded by *Warwicks* Fort, where are three great Peeces: and on the Wharfe before the Gouernours house eight more, besides the warning Peece by the mount, and three in Saint *Katharines*;

So that in all there are ten Fortresses and two and fifty peeces of Ordnance sufficient and seruiceable: their formes and situations you may see more plainlier described in the Map; and to defend those, he left one thousand fiue hundred persons with neere a hundred boats, and the Ile well replenished with store of such fruits, prouisions and Poultry, as is formerly related: yet for so departing and other occasions, much difference hath beene betwixt him and some of the Company, as any of his Predecessors; which I rather wish were reconciled, then to be a reporter of such vnprofitable dissentions. [**200**]

For

Till trechery and faction, and auarice be gone,
Till enuy and ambition, and backbiting be none,
Till periury and idlenesse, and iniury be out,
And truly till that villany the worst of all that rout;
Vnlesse those vices banisht be, what euer Forts you haue,
A hundred walls together put will not haue power to saue.

Master Iohn Barnard *sent to be Gouernour.* 1622.

TO supply this place was sent by the noble aduenturers *Iohn Bernard*, a Gentleman both of good meanes and quality, who arriued within eight daies after *Butlers* departure [1622] with two ships, and about one hundred and forty passengers with armes and all sorts of munition and other prouisions sufficient. [1622-3]

The Lord *Cauendish* Treasurer. Master *Nicholas Farrar* Deputy.

During the time of his life which was but six weekes in reforming all things he found defectiue, he shewed himselfe so iudiciall and industrious as gaue great satisfaction; and did generally promise vice was in great danger to be suppressed, and vertue and the Plantation much aduanced: but so it hapned that both he and his wife died in such short time they were both buried in one day and one graue; and Master *Iohn Harrison* chosen Gouernour till further order came from *England*.

What hapned in the gouernment of Master Iohn Harrison.

THey are still much troubled with a great short worme that deuours their Plants in the night, but all the day they lie hid in the ground; and though early in the morning they kill so many, they would thinke there were no more, yet the next morning you shall finde as many. The Caterpillers to their fruits are also as pernicious, and the land Crabs in some places are as thicke in their Borowes as Conies in a Warren, and doe much hurt. 1623.

Sir *Edward Sackuil* Treasurer. Master *Gabriel Barber* Deputy.

Besides all this, there hapned this yeere [1623] a very heauy disaster, for a ship wherein there had beene much swearing and blaspheming vsed all the voyage, and landed what she had to leaue in those Iles, iouially froliking in their Cups and Tobacco, by accident fired the Powder, that at the very instant blew vp the great Cabin, and some one way and some another: it is a wonder to thinke how they could bee so blowne out of the gun-roome into the Sea,

[1623-4] where some were taken vp liuing, so pitifully burned [that] their liues were worse then so many deaths, some died, some liued: but eighteene were lost at this fatall blast, the ship also immediatly sunke with threescore barrels of meale sent for *Virginia*, and all the other prouision in her was thus lost.

Note. Now to consider how the Spaniards, French, and Dutch haue beene lost and preserued in those inuincible Iles, yet neuer regarded them but as monuments of miseries, though at this present they all desire them; How Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* being ready to sinke in the sea were saued, what an incredible abundance of victuall they found, how it was first planted by the English, the strange increase of Rats, and their sudden departure, the fiue men came from *England* in a boat, the escape of *Hilliard*, and the rest of those accidents there hapned: a man would thinke it a tabernacle of miracles, and the worlds wonder, that from such a Paradise of admiration who would thinke should spring such wonders of afflictions as are onely fit to be sacrificed vpon the highest altars of sorrow, thus to be set vpon the highest Pinacles of content, and presently throwne downe to the lowest degree of extremity, as you see haue beene the yeerely succeedings of those Plantations; the which to ouercome, as it is an incomparable honour, so it can be no dishonour if a man doe miscarry by vnfortunate accidents in such honourable actions, the which renowne and vertue to attaine hath [**201**] caused so many attempts by diuers Nations besides ours, euen to passe through the very amazement of aduentures.

Vpon the relation of this newes the Company hath sent one Captaine *Woodhouse*, a Gentleman of good repute and great experience in the warres, and no lesse prouident then industrious and valiant: then returned report, all goeth well there.

It is too true, in the absence of the noble Treasurer, Sir *Edward Sackvill*, now Earle of *Dorset*; there haue beene such complaints betwixt the Planters and the Company, that, by command, the Lords appointed Sir *Thomas Smith* againe Treasurer, that since then according to their order of Court he is also elected: where now we must leaue them all to their good fortune and successe, till we heare further of their fortunate proceedings.

1624. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer, and Master *Edwards* Deputy.

FINIS.

To his friend Captaine *Smith*, [p. 183.]

vpon his description of New-England.

[1616]

Sir; your Relations I haue read: which shew,
Ther's reason I should honour them *and* you:
And if their meaning I haue vnderstood,
I dare to censure thus: Your Proiect's *good;*
And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine,
With honour, pleasure and a trebble gaine;
Beside the benefit that shall arise
To make more happy our Posterities.
For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more
Then what ore-fils, and surfets vs in store,
To order Nature's *fruitfulnesse a while*
In that rude Garden, *you* New-England *stile;*
With present good, ther's hope in after-daies
Thence to repaire what Time *and* Pride *decaies*
In this rich Kingdome. And the spacious West
Being still more with English *bloud possest,*
The proud Iberians *shall not rule those Seas,*
To checke our ships from sailing where they please;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become so great to force a bound to Our.

[1616]

Much good my minde foretels would follow hence
With little labour, and with lesse expence.
Thriue therefore thy Designe, *who ere enuy :*
England *may ioy in* England's *Colony,*
Virginia *seeke her Virgin sisters good,*
Be blessed in such happy neighbourhood :
Or, whatsoere Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honour'd for first mouing it.

George Wither. *e societate Lincol.*

[*p.* 182.]

To that worthy and generous *Gentleman, my very good friend, Captaine* Smith.

May Fate thy Proiect, prosper that thy name
May be eternized with liuing fame :
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Enuie euer waits vpon desert : [**202**]
In spight of Pelias, *when his hate lies cold,*
Returne as Iason *with a fleece of gold.*
Then after-ages shall record thy praise,
That a New-England *to this Ile didst raise :*
And when thou di'st (*as all that liue must die*)
Thy fame liue here ; thou, with Eternity.

R. Gunnell.

To his worthie Captaine, the Author.

[p. 230.]

OFt thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere [1616]
In bloudy wars, where thousands haue beene slaine.
Then giue me leaue in this some part to beare;
And as thy seruant, here to reade my name.
Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene
In the fierce warres of Transiluania:
Long ere that thou America *hadst seene,*
Or led wast captiu'd in Virginia;
Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,
And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause me thinke
That thou I'aue seene so oft approu'd in dangers,
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valour still hath freed)
Art yet preserued, to conuert those strangers:
By God thy guide I trust it is decreed.
For me: I not commend but much admire
Thy England yet vnknowne to passers by-her
For it will praise it selfe in spight of me;
Thou it, it thou, to all posterity.

Your true friend and souldier, *Ed. Robinson.*

[*f.* 231.]

To my honest Captaine, the Author.

[1616]

Malignant Times! What can be said or done,
But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some!
This worthy Worke, which thou hast bought so deare,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors need to feare.
Thy words by deeds so long thou hast approu'd,
Of thousands know thee not thou art belou'd.
And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and belou'd, than ere thou wert before.
I neuer knew a Warrier yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
I call thee Warrier: *and I make the bolder;*
For, many a Captaine *now, was neuer Souldier.*
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they haue done like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend, sometimes your souldier,
Thos. Carlton. [**203**]

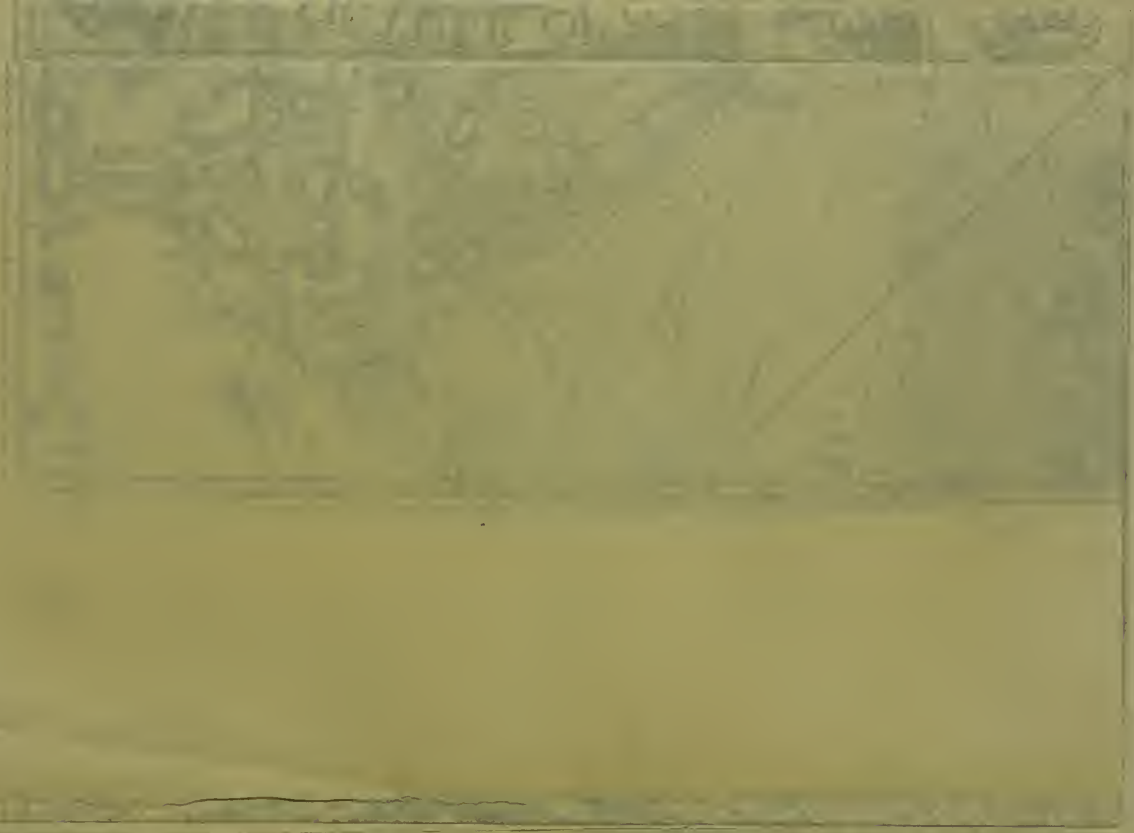
The General History of New England. 1606–1624; *with a Note on Newfoundland.* 1622.]

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NEW ENGLAND

The most remarqueable parts thus named by the high and mighty Prince CHARLES, Prince of great Britaine

316 317 318 319



These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

If so; in Brasse, two soft Smiths Acts to beare)
I fix thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele our weare.
Thine, as thou art Virtues,
John Dauies. Heref:

Edenborough
Cambridg
The Base
Schooters hill
Sandwich
Dartmouth
Ipswich
Snadoun hill
Hull
Beston
Smiths Ils
South Hampton
Bristow
Fawmouth
The River CHARLES
Cheuyot hills
London
Oxford
Plimouth
Cape ANNA
Basable
Talbotts Bay
Fullerton Ils
Carr Ils
P. Murr
Poynt Stuff
Poynt ponge
Cape IAMES
Milford haven
IUARDS Bay
Barwick
P. Kent
Harington Bay
Cape ELIZABETH
The River forth
Leth
St Iohn Towne
Norwich
Gunnellerin
Aborden
Lowmonds
Pirates
Pembrocks Bay
Gerrards Ils
Heyhton Ils
Barty Ils
Willowby Ils
Lincs Ils

44½ 44 43½ 43 42½ 42

1 Scale of Leagues
2 4 6 8 10

Observed and described by Captayn John Smith
1614

Simon Passæus sculpsit
Robert Clerke excudit.

London
Printed by Geor. Low.

The sixth Booke.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

CONcerning this History you are to vnderstand the Letters-Patents granted by his Maiesty in 1606. for the limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34. to 44. which was diuided into two parts; namely, the first Colony and the second: the first was to the honourable City of London, and such as would aduenture with them to discouer and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34. and 41. The second was appropriated to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter* and *Plimoth*, &c. and the West parts of *England*, and all those that would aduenture and ioine with them, and they might make their choise any where betwixt the degrees of 38. and 44.; prouided there should bee at least 100. miles distance betwixt these 2 Colonies: each of which had lawes, priuileges and authoritie, for the gouernment and aduancing their seuerall Plantations alike. [1606]

[1607-8] Now this part of *America* hath formerly beene called *Norumbega*, *Virginia*, *Nuskoncus*, *Penaquida*, *Cannada*, and such other names as those that ranged the Coast pleased.

But because it was so mountainous, rocky and full of Iles, few haue aduentured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithstanding, that honourable Patron of vertue, Sir *Iohn Popham*, Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, in the yeere 1606. procured meanes and men to possesse it, and sent Captaine *George Popham* for President, Captaine *Rawley Gilbert* for Admirall, Captaine *Edward Harlow* master of the Ordnance, Captaine *Robert Dauis* Sargeant-Maior, Captaine *Elis Best* Marshall, Master *Seaman* Secretary, Captaine *Iames Dauis* to be Captaine of the Fort, Master *Gome Carew* chiefe Searcher: all those were of the Councell, who with some hundred more were to stay in the Country: they set saile from *Plimoth* the last of May [1607], and fell with *Monahigan* the eleuenth of August.

Sir *Francis Popham* Treasurer.

At *Sagadahock* 9. or 10. leagues southward, they planted themselues at the mouth of a faire nauigable Riuer, but the coast all thereabouts [being] most extreme stony and rocky: that extreme frozen Winter [1607-8] was so cold they could not range nor search the Country, and their prouision so small, they were glad to send all but 45. of their company backe againe. Their noble President Captaine *Popham* died, and not long after arriued two ships well prouided of all necessaries to supply them; and some small time after another, by whom vnderstanding of the [**204**] death of the Lorde chiefe Iustice, and also of Sir *Iohn Gilbert*: whose lands there the President *Rawley Gilbert* was to possesse according to the aduenturers directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for *England* in the yeere 1608. and thus this Plantation was begunne and ended in one yeere, and the Country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky Desart.

Notwithstanding, the right Honourable *Henry* Earle of South-hampton and those of the Ile of *Wight*, imploied Captaine *Edward Harlow* to discouer an Ile supposed about Cape *Cod*, but they found their plots had much abused them, for falling with *Monahigan*, they found onely Cape *Cod* no

Ile but the maine, there they detained three Saluages aboord them, called *Pechmo, Monopet* and *Pekenimne*, but *Pechmo* leapt ouer board, and got away; and not long after with his consorts cut their Boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand, and guarded her with Bowes and Arrowes the English lost her. Not farre from thence they had three men sorely wounded with Arrowes. [1608]

Anchoring at the Ile of *Nohono*, the Saluages in their Canowes assaulted the Ship till the English Guns made them retire; yet here they tooke *Sakaweston* that, after he had liued many yeeres in *England*, went a Souldier to the warres of *Bohemia*.

At *Capawe* they tooke *Coneconam* and *Epenow* [*pp.* 264, 701], but the people at *Agawom* vsed them kindly. So with fiue Saluages they returned for *England*.

Yet Sir *Francis Popham* sent diuers times one Captaine *Williams* to *Monahigan* onely to trade and make core fish, but for any Plantations there was no more speeches.

For all this, as I liked *Virginia* well, though not their proceedings; so I desired also to see this country, and spend some time in trying what I could finde, for all those ill rumors and disasters.

From the relations of Captaine Edward Harlow *and diuers others.*

[*My first visit to* New England.]

[*A.* 187.] My first voyage to *New-England.* **1614.** [*pp.* 240, 256, 936.]

IN the month of Aprill 1614. at the charge of Captaine *Marmaduke Roydon*, Captaine *George Langam*, Master *Iohn Buley* and Master *William Skelton*, with two ships from *London*, I chanced to arriue at *Monahigan* an Ile of *America*, 434. [? 43°, 40′], of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales, for which we had one *Samuel Cramton*, and diuers others expert in that faculty, and also to make trialls of a Mine of gold and copper; if those failed, Fish and Furs were then our refuge to make our selues sauers howsoeuer.

[1614] We found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion; we saw many and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any. They being a kinde of *Iubartes*, and not the Whale that yeelds Fins and Oile as we expected; for our gold it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge he had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furs were now our guard, and by our late arriuall and long lingring about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceiued it, wee thinking that their seasons serued at all times: but we found it otherwise, for by the middest of *Iune* the fishing failed, yet in *Iuly* and *August* some were taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about forty thousand, of Cor-fish about seuen thousand.

[*p.* 188.] Whilest the Sailers fished, my selfe with eight others of them might best bee spared, ranging the Coast in a small Boat, we got for trifles neere eleuen thousand Beuer skinnes, one hundred Martins, as many Otters, and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues.

The commodities I got amounted to 1500. pounds.

We ranged the Coast both East and West much further, but Eastward our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neere the French who afforded them better, with whom the Saluages had such commerce that only by trade they made exceeding great voyages (though they were without the limits of our precincts): during the time we tried those conclusions, not knowing the coast, nor Saluages habitations.

With these Furres, the traine Oile and Cor-fish, I returned for *England* in the Barke, where within six moneths after our departure from the Downes, wee safely arriued backe. The best of this fish was sold for 5. li. the hundred; the rest, by ill vsage, betwixt three pounds and 50. shillings.

The other ship stayed to fit her selfe for Spaine with the dry fish which was sold at *Maligo*, at forty Rialls the Quintall, each hundred [weight] weighing two quintals and a halfe.

The trechery of Master *Hunt*. But one *Thomas Hunt* [**205**] the Master of this ship (when I was gone) thinking to preuent that intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding Countrey still in obscuritie, that onely he and some few

Merchants more might enioy wholly the benefit of the Trade, and profit of this Countrey, betraied foure and twenty of those poore Saluages aboord his ship : and most dishonestly, and inhumanely, for their kinde vsage of me and all our men, caried them with him to *Maligo*, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for Rials of eight ; but this vilde act kept him euer after from any more emploiment in those parts. **[1614]** [*p.* 754.]

Now because at this time I had taken a draught of the Coast, and called it *New England*; yet so long he [*i.e.*, *Hunt*] and his Consorts drowned that name with the Eccho of *Cannaday* ; and some other ships from other parts also, that vpon this good returne the next yere went thither [*June* 1615] : that at last I presented this Discourse with the Map, to our most gracious Prince *Charles*, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince *Charles* was their God-father ; which for your better vnderstanding both of this Discourse and the Map, peruse this Schedule, which will plainly shew you the correspondency of the old names to the new, as his Highnesse named them.

How Prince *Charles* called the most remarkable places in *New-England*. [*p.* 232.]

The old names.	The new names.
Cape *Cod*.	Cape *Iames*.
The Harbor at Cape *Cod*.	*Milforth* hauen.
Chawum.	*Barwick*.
Accomack.	*Plimoth*.
Sagoquas.	*Oxford*.
Massachusets Mount.	*Cheui*[*o*]*t* hills.
Massachusits Riuer.	*Charles* Riuer.
Totan.	*Fa*[*l*]*mouth*.
A great Bay by Cape *Anne*.	*Bristow*.
Cape *Tragabigsanda*.	Cape *Anne*.
Naembeck.	*Bastable*.
Aggawom.	*Southampton*.
Smiths Iles.	*Smiths* Iles.
Passataquack.	*Hull*.
Accominticus.	*Boston*.
Sassanows Mount.	*Snowdon* hill.
Sowocatuck.	*Ipswich*.

[1614]

Bahanna.	*Dartmouth.*
A good Harbor within that Bay.	*Sandwich.*
Ancociscos Mount.	*Shuters* hill.
Ancocisco.	The *Bas[s]e.*
Annoughcawgen.	*Cambridge.*
Kenebecka.	*Edenborow.*
Sagadahock.	*Leth.*
Pemmayquid.	*S. Iohns* towne.
Segocket.	*Norwich.*
Mecadacut.	*Dunbarton.*
Pennobscot.	*Aberden.*
Nusket.	*Low Mounds* [*i.e.*, Lomonds].

Those being omitted, I named my selfe.

Monahigan.	*Barties* Iles.
Matinack.	*Willowbies* Iles.
Metinacus.	*Haughton* Iles.

The rest of the names in the Map, are places that had no names that we did know.

Aspersions against *New England.* [*p.* 219.]

But to continue the History succeedingly as neere with the day and yeere as may bee.

Returning in the Barke as is said; it was my ill chance to put in at *Plimoth*, where imparting those my purposes to diuers I thought my friends, whom as I supposed were interested in the dead Patent of this vnregarded Countrey, I was so encouraged and assured to haue the managing [of] their authoritie in those parts during my life, and such large promises, that I ingaged my selfe to vndertake it for them.

Arriuing at *London*, though some malicious persons suggested there was no such matter to be had in that so bad abandoned Countrey, for if there had, other could haue found it so well as I; therefore it was to be suspected I had robbed the French men in *New France* or *Cannada*; and the Merchants set me forth seemed not to regard it: yet I found so many promised me such assistance, that I entertained [*contracted with*] *Michael Cooper* the Master of the Barke, that returned with me and others of the Company.

How he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not; but my publike proceeding gaue such encouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some few of the *Virginia*

Company, as those proiects [**206**] for fishing onely was so well liked, they furnished *Couper* with foure good ships to Sea, before they at *Plimoth* had made any prouision at all for me; but onely a small Barke set out by them of the Ile of *Wight*. [1614]

Captaine *Hobson* his voiage to *Capawuk*.

Some of *Plimoth*, and diuers Gentlemen of the West Countrey, a little before I returned from *New England*, in search for a Mine of Gold about an Ile called *Capawuck*, South-wards from the Shoules of Cape *Iames*, as they were informed by a Saluage called *Epenew* [*p.* 697]: that hauing deluded them as it seems thus to get home, seeing they kept him as a prisoner in his owne Countrey, and before his friends: being a man of so great a stature, he was shewed vp and downe *London* for money as a wonder; and it seemes of no lesse courage and authoritie, then of wit, strength, and proportion. For so well he had contriued his businesse, as many reported he intended to haue surprised the ship; but seeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped ouer-boord. Many shot they made at him, thinking they had slaine him: but so resolute they were to recouer his body, the master of the ship was wounded, and many of his company. And thus they lost him; and not knowing more what to do, returned againe to *England* with nothing: which so had discouraged all your West Countrey men, they neither regarded much their promises, and as little either me or the Countrey, till they saw the *London* ships gone and me in *Plimoth* according to my promise [*in Jan.* 1615, *p.* 733], as hereafter shall be related.

The Londoners send foure good ships to New *England*.

I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with *Couper*, in that they offered me that imploiment if I would accept it; and I finde still my refusall incurred some of their displeasures, whose loue and fauour I exceedingly desired; and though they doe censure me opposite to their proceedings, they shall yet still in all my words and deeds finde, it is their error, not my fault that occasions their dislike: for hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrey, I had beene very dishonest to haue broke my promise, nor

1614] will I spend more time in discouery or fishing, till I may goe with a Company for a Plantation; for I know my grounds, yet euery one to whom I tell them, or that reads this Booke, cannot put it in practise, though it may helpe any that hath seene or not seene to know much of those parts. And though they endeuour to worke me out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but I would be sorry their intruding ignorance should by their defailments bring those certainties to doubtfulnesse. So that the businesse prosper I haue my desire, be it by whomsoeuer that are true subiects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I seeke, and there is more then enough for all, if they could be contented.

[*p.* 188.] The situation of New England.

'*New England* is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea, opposite to *Noua Albion* [*California*] in the South Sea, discouered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is stiled *New England*, being in the same latitude. *New France* of it is Northwards, South-wards is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning continent with new *Granado*, new *Spaine*, new *Andolosia*, and the *West-Indies*.

NOw because I haue beene so oft asked such strange questions of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of Land, how they can be thus long vnknowne, or not possessed by the *Spaniards*, and many such like demands; I [*p.* 189.] intreat your pardons if I chance to bee too plaine or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction.

Notes of *Florida*.

Florida is the next adioyning to the *Indies*, which vnprosperously was attempted to be planted by the French, a Countrey farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian, but by the wonderfull endeuours of *Ferdinando de Soto*, a valiant *Spaniard*, whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

Virginia is no Ile as many doe imagine, but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*, whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof, without offence to any Christian Inhabitant, for from the degrees of thirtie to forty eight, his Maiesty hath now enlarged his Letters Patents. The Coast extending South-west [**207**] and North-east about sixteene or seuenteene hundred miles, but to follow it aboord the shore may well be three thousand miles at the least: of which twentie miles is the most giues entrance into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*, where is the London Plantation, within which is a Countrey, as you may perceiue by the Map, of that little I discouered, may well suffice three hundred thousand people to inhabit: but of it, and the discoueries of Sir *Ralph Laine* and Master *Heriot*, Captaine *Gosnold*, and Captaine *Waymouth*, they haue writ so largely, that posteritie may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. [1614]

Notes of *Virginia*.

But for diuers others that haue ranged those parts since, especially this Countrey now called *New England*, within a kenning sometimes of the shore; some touching in one place, some in another; I must intreat them pardon me for omitting them, or if I offend in saying, that their true descriptions were concealed, or neuer were well obserued, or died with the Authors, so that the Coast is yet still but euen as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscouered.

I haue had six or seuen seuerall plots of those Northerne parts, so vnlike each to other, or resemblance of the Country, as they did me no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more, it may bee it was not my chance to see the best; but lest others may be deceiued as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselues as I did, I haue drawne a Map from point to point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-markes, as I passed close aboord the shore in a little Boat; although there bee many things to bee obserued, which the haste of other affaires did cause me to omit: for being sent more to get present Commodities, then knowledge of any discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would; yet it will serue to direct any [that] shall goe that waies to safe Harbours and the Saluages habitations: what merchandize [*A.* 190.]

[1614] and Commodities for their labours they may finde, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

Obseruations for presumptuous ignorant directors.

Thus you may see of these three thousand miles, more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose, no not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discouered: as for the goodnesse and true substance of the Land, we are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it be those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack* and *Sagadahock*, but onely here and there where we haue touched or seene a little, the edges of those large Dominions which doe stretch themselues into the maine, God doth know how many thousand miles, whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France*, can describe the harbours and dangers by landing here or there in some Riuer or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substance of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria*, and the rest; nay, there are many haue liued fortie yeeres in London, and yet haue scarce beene ten miles out of the Citie: so are there many that haue beene in *Virginia* many yeeres, and in *New England* many times, that doe know little more then the place they doe inhabit, or the Port where they fished, and when they come home, they will vndertake they know all *Virginia* and *New England*, as if they were but two Parishes or little Ilands. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that thinke euery one that hath beene in *Virginia* or *New England*, vnderstandeth or knoweth what either of them are; Or that the Spaniards know one halfe quarter of those large Territories they possesse, no not so much as the true circumference of *Terra incognita*, whose large Dominions may equalize the goodnesse and greatnesse of *America* for any thing yet [*p.* 191.] knowne. It is strange with what small power he doth range in the *East-Indies*, and few will vnderstand the truth of his strength in *America:* where hauing so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they need not greatly feare his fury in *Sommer Iles*, *Virginia*, or *New England*, beyond whose bounds *America* doth stretch many thousand miles. Into the frozen parts whereof, one Master *Hutson* [*Hudson*] an English Mariner, did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I know, where hee vnfortunately was left by his cowardly Com-

pany, for his exceeeding deserts, to end and die a most miserable death. [**208**] [1614]

For *Affrica*, had not the industrious *Portugals* ranged her vnknowne parts, who would haue sought for wealth amongst those fried Regions of blacke brutish *Negars* where notwithstanding all their wealth and admirable aduentures and endeuours more then one hundred and fortie yeeres [1476–1616] they know not one third part of those blacke habitations.

But it is not a worke for euery one to manage such an affaire, as make a discouery and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing then another, and therein best to be imploied: and nothing breeds more confusion then misplacing and misimploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus*, *Courtes*, *Pitzara*, [*p.* 965.] *Zoto*, *Magilanus*, and the rest serued more then a Prentiship, to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West-Indies*, which to the wonder of all ages successefully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions, that keepe vs backe from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits, that aduanced themselues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest power, glory, and renowne.

The Description of New England.

[1614]
[*pp.* 192, 237, 938.

THat part we call *New England*, is betwixt the degrees of fortie one and fortie fiue, the very meane betwixt the North pole and the line; but that part this Discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Penobscot* to Cape *Cod*, some seuentie fiue leagues by a right line distant each from other; within which bounds I haue seene at least fortie seuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coast, and sounded about fiue and twentie excellent good Harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for fiue hundred saile of ships of any burden; in some of them for one thousand, and more then two hundred Iles ouergrowne with good Timber of diuers sorts of wood, which doe make so many Harbours, as required a longer time then I had to be well obserued.

The principall Countries or gouernments. [*p.* 938.]

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobscot*. Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers, we found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemaquid*, *Nuscoucus*, *Sagadahock*, *Aumoughcowgen*, and *Kenebeke*; and to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshoquen*, *Wakcogo*, *Pasharanack*, &c. To these are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Ancocisco*, *Accomynticus*, *Passataquack*, *Aggawom*, and *Naemkeck*: All these for any thing I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment: though most of them be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Penobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next I can remember by name, are *Mattahunts*, two

pleasant Iles of Groues, Gardens, and Corne fields a league in the Sea from the maine: Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Topent*, *Secassaw*, *Totheet*, *Nasnocomacack*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*, *Patuxet*, *Massasoyts*, *Pakanokick*: then Cape *Cod*, by which is *Pawmet* and the Ile *Nawset*, of the language and aliance of them of *Chawum*; the others are called *Massachusets*, and differ somewhat in language, custome, and condition. [1614]

For their Trade and Merchandize, to each of their principall families or habitations, they haue diuers Townes and people belonging, and by their relations and descriptions, more then twentie seuerall habitations and riuers that stretch themselues farre into the Countrey, euen to the Borders of diuers great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Otters.

From *Pennobscot* to *Sagadahoc*. This Coast [**209**] is [*p.* 193.] mountainous, and Iles of huge Rockes, but ouer-growne for most part, with most sorts of excellent good woods, for building Houses, Boats, Barks or Ships, with an incredible abundance of most sorts of Fish, much Fowle, and sundry sorts of good Fruits for mans vse.

Betwixt *Sagadahock*, and *Sowocatuck*, there is but two or three Sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape *Iames* very many: especially the Coast of the *Massachusets* is so indifferently mixed with high Clay or Sandy clifts in one place, and the tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and Quaries of stones in other places, so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as Free-stone for building, Slate for tyling, smooth stone to make Furnasses and Forges for Glasse and Iron, and Iron Ore sufficient conueniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Deuonshire*, I thinke most of the clifts would make such Lime-stone: if they bee not of these qualities, they are so like they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine: all which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good Iron and Steele in those parts as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare ingage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the Simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building and rigging of ships of any proportion, and good Merchandise for their fraught, within a square of

[1614] ten or foureteene leagues, and it were no hard matter to proue it within a lesse limitation.

A proofe of an excellent clime.

And surely by reason of those sandy clifts, and clifts of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong, and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the Fish, and the moderate temper of the aire (for of fiue and forty not a man was sicke, but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approue this a most excellent place, both for health and fertilitie: and of all the foure parts of the world I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but means to transport a Colony, I would [*p.* 194.] rather liue here then any where; and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

Staple Commodities present.

The maine staple from hence to bee extracted for the present, to produce the rest, is Fish, which howbeit may seeme a meane and a base Commoditie; yet who will but truly take the paines and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see, what great aduentures the hopes of setting forth men of warre to rob the industrious innocent would procure, or such massie promises in grosse, though more are choaked then well fed with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore *Hollanders* chiefely by fishing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious, and by the venting this poore Commoditie to the Easterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rozen, Cordage, and such like; which they exchange againe to the *French*, *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *English*, &c. for what they want, are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but *Venice* of twice their magnitude is so well furnished, with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping, and all sorts of Merchandize, as well of Gold, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, pretious Stones, Silkes, Veluets, and Cloth of

Obseruations of the *Hollanders*.

Gold; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse Commodities? What voiages and discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land haue they long maintained, in despight of one of the greatest Princes of the world, and neuer could the *Spaniard* with all his Mines of Gold and Siluer, pay his debts, his friends, and Army, halfe so truly as the *Hollanders* still haue done by this contemptible Trade of Fish. Diuers (I know) may alleage many other assistances; but this is the chiefest Mine, and [**210**] the Sea the source of those siluer streames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the onely paterne of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum Mobile* that turnes all their spheares to this height, of plentie, strength, honor, and exceeding great admiration. [1614]

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie, that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicitie such as it is: and from which (few would thinke it) they should draw so many millions yeerely as they doe, as more in particular in the trials of *New England* [*pp.* 233-272] you may see; and such an incredible number of ships, that breeds them so many Sailers, Mariners, Souldiers, and Merchants, neuer to be wrought out of that Trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they that will vse it, though not so certainly, nor so much in quantitie, for want of experience: and this Herring they take vpon the Coast of *England* and *Scotland*, their Cod and Ling vpon the Coast of *Izeland*, and in the North seas, if wee consider what gaines the *Hamburgans*, the *Biskinners*, and *French* make by fishing; nay, but how many thousands this fiftie or sixty yeeres [1564–1614 *or* 1624] haue beene maintained by *New found land*, where they take nothing but small Cod, whereof the greatest they make Cor-fish, and the rest is hard dried, which we call Poore-Iohn, would amaze a man with wonder. [*p.* 195.] Note.

If then from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of Fish, especially by the *Hollanders*, that hath but little of their owne, for building of ships and setting them to sea; but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many parts of the world

[1614] ere they come together to be vsed in those voiages: If these (I say) can gaine, why should we more doubt then they; but doe much better, that may haue most of all those things at our doores for taking and making, and [*p.* 196.] here are no hard Landlords to racke vs with high rents, or extorting fines, nor tedious pleas in Law to consume vs with their many yeeres disputation for iustice; no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders as in popular States: so freely hath God and his Maiestie bestowed those blessings on them [that] will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master of his Note. owne labour and land, or the greatest part (if his Maiesties royall meaning be not abused) and if he haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp his Trade; and by industry quickly grow rich, spending but halfe that time well, which in *England* we abuse in idlenesse, worse, or as ill.

Examples of the Altitude comparatiuely. Here is ground as good as any lieth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate, and as fruitfull as any other parallel in the world.

As for example, on this side the line, West of it in the South Sea, is *Noua Albion*, discouered as is said [*p.* 702] by Sir *Francis Drake*. East from it is the most temperate part of *Portugall*, the ancient Kingdomes of *Galizia*, *Bisky*, *Nauarre*, *Aragon*, *Cattilonia*, *Castillia* the old, and the most moderatest of *Castillia* the new, and *Valentia*; which In *Spaine*. is the greatest part of *Spaine*: which if the Histories be true, in the *Romans* time abounded no lesse with gold and siluer Mines, then now the *West-Indies*; the *Romans* then vsing the *Spaniards* to worke in those Mines, as now the *Spaniards* doe the *Indians*.

In *France*. In *France* the Prouinces of *Gascony*, *Langadocke*, *Auignon*, *Prouince*, *Dolphine*, *Pyamont*, and *Turyne*, are in the same parallel; which are the best and richest parts of *France*.

In *Italy* the Prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous state of *Venice*, the Dukedomes of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bolognia*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slauonia*, *Istria*, and *Dalmatia*, with the In *Greece*. Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Grecia* those famous Kingdomes

of *Macedonia*, *Bullulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated the most pleasant and plentifull Citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople*. [1614]

In *Asia* in the same latitude, are the temperatest parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, [211] *Persia*, and *China*; besides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in those most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia*. In *Asia*. [*p.* 197.]

Southward in the same height is the richest of Gold Mines, *Chily*, and *Baldinia*, and the mouth of the great Riuer of *Plate*, &c. for all the rest of the world in that height is yet vnknowne. Beyond the line.

Besides these reasons, mine owne eies that haue seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes (as well as it) can finde no aduantage they haue in Nature but this, they are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and art; This is onely as God made it when hee created the world.

Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intrailes of those Regions were sought, if their Land were cultured, planted, and manured by men of industry, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what need they doubt, hauing the aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of these famous Kingdomes in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions: seeing euen the very hedges doe naturally affoord vs such plentie, as no ship need returne away emptie, and onely vse but the season of the Sea, Fish will returne an honest gaine, besides all other aduantages; her treasures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originals wasted, consumed, nor abused.

The particular staple commodities that may be had by industry.

And whereas it is said the *Hollanders* serue the Easterlings themselues, and other parts that want with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod: The Easterlings, a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Cauiare, as the Blacke Sea doth *Grecia*, *Podolia*, *Sagouia*, *Natolia*, and the *Hellespont*. Cape *Blanke*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, and the *Leuant*, with Mulit and Puttargo. *New found land*, the most part of the chiefe Southerne Ports in *Europe*, with a thin Poore-Iohn; which hath beene so long, so much ouer-laied with Fishers, as the fishing decaieth, so that many oft times are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway*

[1614] and *Poland* affoords Pitch and Tarre, Masts and Yards. *Sweathland* and *Russia*, Iron and Ropes. *France* and *Spaine*, Canuase, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oile. *Italy* and *Greece*, Silkes and Fruits. I dare boldly say, because I haue seene naturally growing or breeding in those parts, the same materials that all these are made of, they may [A. 198.] as well bee had here, or the most part of them within the distance of seuentie leagues for some few ages, as from all those parts, vsing but the same meanes to haue them that they doe; but surely in *Virginia*, their most tender and daintiest fruits or commodities, would be as perfit as theirs, by reason of the heat, if not in *New England*, and with all those aduantages.

The nature of the ground approued.

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionlesse it is capable of producing any Graine, Fruits, or Seeds, you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions aforenamed. But it may be not to that perfection of delicacy, because the Summer is not so hot, and the Winter is more cold in those parts we haue yet tried neere the Sea side, then wee finde in the same height in *Europe* or *Asia*: yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rocky Ile in three and forty degrees and an halfe, foure leagues from the maine in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for Sallets in Iune and Iuly.

All sorts of Cattle may here be bred and fed in the Iles or Peninsulaes securely for nothing. In the *Interim*, till they increase (if need be) obseruing the seasons, I durst vndertake to haue Corne enough from the Saluages for three hundred men, for a few trifles; and if they should be vntowards, as it is most certaine they will, thirtie or fortie good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this prouision, if they vnderstand what to doe: two hundred whereof may eight or nine moneths in the yeere be imploied in helping the Fisher-men, till the rest prouide other necessaries, fit to furnish vs with other Commodities.

The seasons for fishing approued.

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, heere is Cod in abundance; In May, Iune, Iuly, and August, Mullit and Sturgion, whose Roes doe make Cauiare and Puttargo; Herring, if any desire them: I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the Saluages

compare the store in the Sea with the haires of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. [**212**] In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you may haue Cod againe to make Core-fish or Poore-Iohn: Hake you may haue when the Cod failes in Summer, if you will fish in the night, which is better then Cod. Now each hundred you take here, is as good as two or three hundred in *New found Land*; so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting and touring, is saued: And you may haue your fish at what market you will, before they haue any in *New found land*, where their fishing is chiefely but in Iune and Iuly; where[as] it is here in March, Aprill, May, September, October and Nouember, as is said: so that by reason of this Plantation, the Merchants may haue their fraught both out and home, which yeelds an aduantage worth consideration. [1614] [A. 199.]

Your Core-fish you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serue the Ports in *Portugall*, as *Lisbone*, *Auera*, *Porta* Port, and diuers others, (or what market you please) before your Ilanders [*Icelanders*] returne. They being tied to the season in the open Sea, and you hauing a double season, and fishing before your doores, may euery night sleep quietly ashore with good cheere, and what fires you will, or when you please with your wiues and family: they onely and their ships in the maine Ocean, that must carie and containe all they vse, besides their fraught.

The Mullits here are in that abundance, you may take them with nets sometimes by hundreds, where at Cape *Blanke* they hooke them: yet those are but a foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I haue measured, which makes me suspect they are some other kinde of fish, though they seeme the same, both in fashion and goodnesse. Much Salmon some haue found vp the Riuers as they haue passed; and here the aire is so temperate, as all these at any time may be preserued.

Imploiment for poore people and fatherlesse children.

Now, young Boies and Girles, Saluages, or any other bee they neuer such idlers, may turne, carie or returne a fish, without either shame or any great paine. He is very idle that is past twelue yeeres of age and cannot doe so much; and she is very old that cannot spin a threed to make Engins to catch a fish.

[1614] The facilitie of the Plantation.

For their transportation, the ships that goe there to fish may transport the first: who for their passage will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must do in *New found land* to get their fraught; but one third part of that company are onely proper to serue a stage, carie a Barrow, and turne Poore-Iohn; notwithstanding, they must haue meat, drinke, clothes, and passage so well as the rest.

Now all I desire is but this, That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choice they can, or accept such as shall bee presented them to serue them at that rate: and their ships returning leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding, apparell, salt, nets, hookes, lines, and [A. 200.] such like, as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne may keepe their Boats, and doe them many other profitable offices. Prouided, I haue men of abilitie to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon any occasion, because of the abuses that haue beene offered the poore Saluages, and the libertie that both French and English, or any that will, haue to deale with them as they please; whose disorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worse.

Now such order with facilitie might be taken, with euery Port, Towne, or Citie, with free power to conuert the benefit of their fraughts to what aduantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion, who euer as they are able to subsist of themselues, may begin the new Townes in *New England*, in memory of their old: which freedome being confined but to the necessitie of the generall good, the euent (with Gods helpe) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

Present Commodities.

Salt vpon Salt may assuredly be made, if not at the first in ponds, yet till they be prouided this may be vsed: then the ships may transport Kine, Horse, Goats, course Cloth, and such Commodities as we want; by whose arriuall may be made that prouision of fish to fraught the ships that they stay not; and then if the Sailers goe for wages it

matters not, it is hard if this returne defray not the charge: [**213**] but care must be had they arriue in the Spring, or else that prouision be made for them against winter. [1614]

Of certaine red berries called Kermes, which is worth ten shillings the pound, but of these haue beene sold for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yeerely be gathered a good quantity. Kermes.

Of the Muskrat may be well raised gaines worth their labour, that will endeuour to make triall of their goodnesse. Musquasses.

Of Beuers, Otters and Martins, blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yeerely be had six or seuen thousand, and if the trade of the French were preuented, many more: 25000. this yeere [1614] were brought from those northerne parts into *France*, of which trade we may haue as good part as the *French* if we take good courses. Beuers [*i.e.*, *their skins*].

Of Mines of Gold and Siluer, Copper, and probabilities of Lead, Crystall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances; it is true indeed, I made many trialls according to the instructions I had, which doth perswade me I need not despaire but that there are metals in the Country: but I am no Alcumist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, who will vndertake the rectifying of an iron Forge, if those that buy meat and drinke, coles, ore, and all necessaries at a deare rate, gaine; where all the sethings are to be had for taking vp, in my opinion cannot lose. [*p.* 201.] Mines.

Of woods, seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boats, buy wood at so great a price as it is in *England*, *Spaine*, *France* and *Holland*, and all other prouisions for the nourishment of mans life, liue well by their trade; when labour is all [that is] required to take these necessaries without any other tax, what hazard will be here but to doe much better, and what commodity in Europe doth more decay then wood? for the goodnesse of the ground, let vs take it fertill or barren, or as it is, seeing it is certaine it beares fruits to nourish and feed man and beast as well as *England*, and the Sea those seuerall sorts of fishes I haue related. Woods.

Thus seeing all good things for mans sustenance may with this facility be had by a little extraordinary labour,

[1614] till that transported be increased, and all necessaries for shipping onely for labour, to which may added the assistance of the Saluages which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their kinds, towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods.

What gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses dwelling there, you may serue all Europe better and farre cheaper then can the Iland Fishers, or the Hollanders, Cape-blanke, or *Newfound land*, who must be at much more charge then you) may easily be coniectured by this example.

An example of the gaines vpon euery yeere or six moneths returne.

Two thousand [pounds] will fit out a ship of 200. tunnes, and one [ship] of 100. tuns. If of the dry fish they both make, [they] fraught that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintall, but commonly it giues fifteene or twenty, especially when it commeth first, which amounts to 3. or 4000. pound, but say but ten, which is the lowest, allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate to 2000. [pounds] which is the whole charge of your two ships and the equipage: then the returne [*by exchange*] of the mony and the fraught of the ship for the vintage or any other voyage is cleere gaine; with your ship of one hundred tunnes of traine Oile and Cor-fish, besides the Beuers and other commodities, and that you may haue at home within six moneths if God please to send but an ordinary passage.

[*p.* 202.]

Then sauing halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victuall, ouerplus of men and wages, with her fraught thither with necessaries for the Planters, the Salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time; if nothing may be expected but this, it might in time equalize your Hollanders gaines, if not exceede them: hauing their fraughts alwaies ready against the arriuall of the ships.

This would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so incourage and imploy a great part of our Idlers and others that want imployment fitting their qualities at home, where they shame to doe that they would doe abroad, that could they but once taste the sweet fruits of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be aduised by good discipline to take more pleasure in honest industry, then in their humors of dissolute idleness. [214]

[1614]

A description of the Countrey in particular, and their situations.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Aire, the Land, the Fruits, their Rocks, the People, the Gouernment, Religion, Territories, Limitations, Friends and Foes: But as I gathered from their niggardly relations in a broken language, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c.

The most Northerne part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuer ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people; but they were from their habitations, either fishing amongst the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods for Deere and Beuers. The Bay is full of great Iles of one, two, six or eight miles in length, which diuides it into many faire and excellent good Harbours. [*p.* 203.]

On the East of it are the *Tarrentines*, their mortall enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report, that liue with those people as one Nation or Family. And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high Mountaine, a kinde of fortresse against the *Tarrentines*, adioyning to the high Mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea; but ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them foureteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next, then *Nuskoucus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*.

Vp this Riuer, where was the Westerne Plantation, are *Aumoughcawgen*, *Kinnebeke*, and diuers others, where are planted some Corne fields. Along this Riuer thirtie or fortie miles, I saw nothing but great high clifts of barren Rocks ouergrowne with Wood, but where the Saluages dwell there the ground is excellent salt [*fat*], and fertill.

Westward of this Riuer is the Country of *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good Harbours.

Sawocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large Sandy

[1614] Bay, which hath many Rockes and Iles, but few good Harbours but for Barkes I yet know.

But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre as I could see Eastward of it, is nothing but such high craggy clifty Rockes and stony Iles, that I wonder such great Trees could grow vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrey rather to affright then delight one, and how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more [p. 204.] barren, I know not; yet are those rocky Iles so furnished with good Woods, Springs, Fruits, Fish and Fowle, and the Sea the strangest Fish-pond I euer saw, that it makes me thinke, though the coast be rocky and thus affrightable, the Vallies and Plaines and interior parts may well notwithstanding be very fertill. But there is no Country so fertill [that] hath not some part barren, and *New-England* is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited.

As you passe the coast still westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient Harbours for small Barkes; and a good Country within their craggy clifts.

Augoan is the next: this place might content a right curious iudgement, but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many rising hils, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields and delightfull groues. On the East is an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marish ground, fit for pasture or salt Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens; there is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe Harbour.

Naiemkeck, though it be more rocky ground, for *Augoan* is sandy, [is] not much inferiour neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceiue but the multitude of people.

[pp. 204, 206, 232, 276, 720, 853, 855, 866.] From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, now called Cape *An*, fronted with the [pp. 204, 720, 838.] three Iles wee called the three Turkes heads; to the north of this doth enter a great Bay, where we found some habitations and Corne fields, they report a faire Riuer and at least 30. habitations [**215**] doth possesse

this Country. But because the French had got their trade, I had no leisure to discouer it. [1614]

The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the west side of this Bay, where are many Iles and some Rocks that appeare a great height aboue the water like the Pyramides in Ægypt, and amongst them many good Harbours, and then the country of the *Massachusits*, which is the Paradice of all those parts; for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groues, Mulberies, saluage Gardens and good Harbours, the Coast is for the most part high clayie sandy clifts, the sea Coast as you passe shewes you all along large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained here neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the Inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be three thousand people vpon those Iles, and that the Riuer doth pierce many daies iourney the entrailes of that Country. [*p.* 205.] [*pp.* 747, 754, 933.]

We found the people in those parts very kinde, but in their fury no lesse valiant; for vpon a quarrell we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had spent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke six or seuen of their Canowes, which towards the euening they ransomed for Beuer skinnes: and at *Quonahasit* falling out there but with one of them, he with three others crossed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine rockes whereby wee must passe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger; yet one of them was slaine, and another shot through his thigh.

An Indian slaine, another shot.

Then come you to *Accomacke* an excellent good Harbour, good land, and no want of any thing but industrious people: after much kindnesse, wee fought also with them, though some were hurt, some slaine, yet within an houre after they became friends.

Cape Cod is the next [that] presents it selfe, which is onely a headland of high hils, ouer-growne with shrubby Pines, hurts and such trash; but an excellent harbour for all weathers. This Cape is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a Sickell; on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet*, and in the bottome of the Bay them of *Chawum*.

Towards the South and South-west of this Cape, is found a long and dangerous shoule of rocks and sand, but so

[1614] farre as I incercled it, I found thirty fathome water and a strong currant, which makes mee thinke there is a chanell about this Shoule, where is the best and greatest fish to be had winter and summer in all the Country; but the Saluages say there is no Chanell, but that the Shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet* to the Ile of *Nawset*, and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea.

[*pp.* 264, 697, 701, 732.] The next to this is *Capawucke*, and those abounding Countries of Copper, Corne, People and Mineralls, which I went to discouer this last yeere [1615]; but because I mis-

[*p.* 206.] carried by the way, I will leaue them till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

The *Massachusets* they report sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, and are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawum* and their alliance; but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other so farre as they haue society on each others frontiers: for they [the *Bashabes*] make no such voyages as from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, seldome to *Massach*[*u*]*set*.

In the North as I haue said they haue begun to plant Corne, whereof the south part hath such plenty as they haue what they will from them of the North, and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and fowle; but both Winter and Summer hath it in one part or other all the yeere, being the meane and most indifferent temper betwixt heat and cold, of all the Regions betwixt the Line and the Pole: but the Furs Northward are much better, and in much more plenty then Southward.

The land Markes

The remarkablest Iles and Mountaines for land Markes are these: the highest Ile is *Sorico* in the Bay of *Pennobscot*, but the three Iles, and the Iles of *Matinack* are much further in the Sea: *Metynacus* is also three plaine Iles, but many great Rocks: *Monahigan* is a round high Ile, and close by it [is] *Monanis*, betwixt which is a small Harbour where we rid; in *Damerils* Iles is such another, *Sagadahocke* is knowne by *Satquin*, and foure or fiue Iles in their mouth. *Smiths* Iles are a heape together, [**216**] none neere them

[*pp.* 204, 718, 838.] against *Accomintycus:* the three *Turkes heads*, are three Iles, seene farre to Sea-ward in regard of the Head-land.

[*pp.* 204, 206, 232, 276, 718, 853, 855, 866.] The chiefe Head-lands, are onely Cape *Tragabigzanda*, and Cape *Cod*; now called [*p.* 232] Cape *Iames*, and Cape *Anne*.

The chiefe Mountaines, them of *Pennobscot*, the twinkling Mountaine of *Acocisco*, the great Mountaine of *Sassanow*, and the high Mountaine of *Massachuset*. Each of which you shall finde in the Map, their places, forme, and altitudes. [1614]

The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrailes of rocky Mountaines.

The Herbs and Fruits are of many sorts and kinds, as Alkermes, Currans, Mulberies, Vines, Respises, Gooseberies, Plums, Wall-nuts, Chesse-nuts, Small-nuts, Pumpions, Gourds, Strawberies, Beanes, Pease, and Maize; a kinde or two of Flax, wherewith they make Nets, Lines, and Ropes, both small and great, very strong for their quantities. Herbs and Fruits. [*p.* 207.]

Oake is the chiefe wood, of which there is great difference, in regard of the soyle where it groweth, Firre, Pine, Wall-nut, Chesse-nut, Birtch, Ash, Elme, Cipris, Cedar, Mulbery, Plum tree, Hazell, Saxefras, and many other sorts. Woods.

Eagles, Grips, diuers sorts of Hawkes, Craines, Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Cranes, Swannes, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Gulls, Turkies, Diue-doppers, and many other sorts whose names I know not. Birds.

Whales, Grompus, Porkpisces, Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddocke, Cole, Cuske or small Ling, Sharke, Mackarell, Herring, Mullit, Base, Pinnacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eeles, Crabs, Lobsters, Mustels, Wilks, Oisters, Clamps, Periwinkels, and diuers others, &c. Fishes.

Moos, a beast bigger than a Stag, Deare red and fallow, Beuers, Wolues, Foxes both blacke and other, Aroughcunds, wilde Cats, Beares, Otters, Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diuers other sorts of Vermin whose names I know not. Beasts.

All these and diuers other good things doe here for want of vse still increase and decrease with little diminution, whereby they grow to that abundance, you shall scarce finde any bay, shallow shore or Coue of sand, where you may not take many clamps or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure, and in many places load your Boat if you please; nor Iles where you finde not Fruits, Birds, Crabs, and Mustels, or all of them; for taking at a low water Cod, Cuske, Hollibut, Scate, Turbit, Mackarell, or such like are taken plentifully in diuers sandy Bayes,

[1614] [p. 208.] store of Mullit, Bases, and diuers other sorts of such excellent fish as many as their Net can hold: no Riuer where there is not plenty of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both, all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons: but if a man will goe at Christmas to gather Cherries in Kent, though there be plenty in Summer, he may be deceiued; so here these plenties haue each their seasons, as I haue expressed.

We for the most part had little but bread and Vinegar, and though, the most part of Iuly when the fishing decayed, they wrought all day, lay abroad in the Iles all night, and liued on what they found, yet were not sicke. But I would wish none long [to] put himselfe to such plunges, except necessity constraine it: yet worthy is that person to starue that here cannot liue if he haue seuse, strength and health, for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place but that one hundred men may in two or three houres make their prouisions for a day, and he that hath experience to manage these affaires, with forty or thirty honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good Corne, Fish, and Flesh as the earth hath of those kinds, and yet make that labour but their pleasure: prouided that they haue Engines that be proper for their purposes.

A note for men that haue great spirits and small meanes.

Who can desire more content that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to aduance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if hee haue but the taste of vertue and magnanimity, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant then planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by Gods blessing and his [217] owne industry without preiudice to any; if hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paine; what so truly su[i]tes with honour and honesty, as the discouering things vnknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust,

teaching vertue and gaine to our natiue mother Country a Kingdome to attend her, finde imploiment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee; and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise. [1616] [p. 209.]

Consider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule; what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother City? For example: *Rome*, what made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad; and the iustice and iudgement out of their experiences, when they grew aged: what was their ruine and hurt but this, the excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of parents, the want of experience in Maiestrates, the admiration of their vndeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealousies, their politike incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse and their deeds of secret lewdnesse; finally in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their Predecessors got in many yeeres they lost in a few daies: those by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants; this is the difference betwixt the vse of armes in the field and on the monuments of stones, the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and misery, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making common weales and marring common weales, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then who would liue at home idly, or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue, onely to eat, drinke and sleepe, and so die; or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily; or by vsing that miserably that maintained vertue honestly; or for being descended nobly, and pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred in penury; or to maintaine a silly shew of brauery, toile out thy heart, soule and time basely, by shifts, tricks, Cards and Dice; or by relating newes of other mens actions, sharke here and there for a dinner or supper; deceiue thy friends by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer meanest to

[1616] [p. 210.] pay; offend the Lawes, surfet with excesse, burthen thy Countrie, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then cousen thy Kindred, yea euen thy owne brother, and wish thy Parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates: though thou seest what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them that will seeke them and worthily deserue them.

I would bee sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning; for I wish good to all, hurt to none: but rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life.

And what hellish care doe such take to make it their owne misery and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most need of their imploiment, drawing by all manner of inuentions from the Prince and his honest Subiects, euen the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their baggs or brags were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them, when they are the onely bait to cause vs not onely to bee assaulted, but betrayed and murthered in our owne security ere wee will perceiue it. [**218**]

An example of secure couetousnesse.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople,* their impregnable walls, riches and pleasures [at] last taken by the Turke, which were then but a bit in comparison of their mightinesse now, remember vs of the effects of priuate couetousnesse; at which time the good Emperour held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacy and prodigality: his pouerty when the Turke besieged the Citizens (whose merchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth) little conceiuing the desperat resolution of a valiant expert enemy, left the Emperour so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young raw discontented Souldiers, that suddenly he, they, and their City were all a prey to the deuouring Turke, and what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their enemies to torment them, their friends and Country, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeues in the world to rob you) not [to] grudge to lend some

proportion to breed them that haue little, yet willing to learne how to defend you, for it is too late when the deed is doing. [1616] [p. 211.]

The Romans estate hath beene worse then this, for the meere couetousnesse and extortion of a few of them so moued the rest, that not hauing any imploiment but contemplation, their great iudgements grew to so great malice, as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselues by faction; let this moue you to imbrace imployment for those whose educations, spirits and iudgements want but your purses, not only to preuent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue.

And you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couetous, or so wilfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonnesse till they grow your masters; or become so basely vnkinde that they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts grow dissolute; and although you would wish them any where to escape the Gallowes and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two or three hundred pound[s] a yeere; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduenture with them to obtaine an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your prouidence, might bee better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you [that] any place yet vnknowne, can affoord such fortunes, you would not beleeue it, no more then *Columbus* was beleeued there was any such land as is now the well knowne abounding *America*, might lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Africa* and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita*.

The Authors conditions.

I haue not beene so ill bred but I haue tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery; nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent force me to these endeuours; nor am I ignorant what small thankes I shall haue for my paines, or that many would haue the world imagine them to bee of great iudgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty obiections and detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want imploiment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne [p. 212.]

[1616] senselesnesse and incredulity, hoping that gaine will make them affect that which Religion, Charity and the common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in mee to deceiue my selfe, much more the King and State, my Friends and Country, with these inducements: which seeing his Maiesty hath giuen permission, I wish all sorts of worthy honest industrious spirits would vnderstand, and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to giue it, not to perswade them to goe onely, but goe with them; not leaue them there, but liue with them there.

I will not say but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses may bee taken [that] may make vs miserable enough: but if I may haue the execution of what I haue proiected, if they [219] want to eat, let them eat or neuer disgest mee. If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines [which] may su[i]te my paines, quality and condition; and if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeeres end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne; I feare not want of company sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of these Countries; and by the proofe of that wealth I hope yeerely to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents as are beyond my power in reason to preuent; for I am not so simple to thinke that [*p.* 928.] euer any other motiue then wealth will euer erect there a common wealth, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in *New-England* to effect my purposes.

The Planters pleasures and profit. And lest any should thinke the toile might be insupportable, though these things may bee had by labour and diligence; I assure my selfe there are who delight extremely in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England* to enioy it, then I should doe here [*New England*] to gaine wealth sufficient, and yet I thinke they should not haue halfe such sweet content: for our pleasure here is still gaines, in *England* charges and losse; here nature and liberty affoords [*p.* 213.] vs that freely which in *England* we want, or it costeth vs deerely. What pleasure can bee more then being tired with any occasion a shore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Herbes, in contriuing their owne grounds to the pleasure of their owne minds, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other workes, &c. to recreate

themselues before their owne doores in their owne Boats vpon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling may take diuers sorts of excellent Fish at their pleasures; and is it not pretty sport to pull vp two pence, six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you can ha[u]le and vere a line; hee is a very bad Fisher [that] cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line one, two, or three hundred Cods, which dressed and dryed, if they bee sold there for ten shillings a hundred, though in *England* they will giue more then twenty, may not both seruant, master and Merchant be well content with this gaine? if a man worke but three daies in seuen, hee may get more then hee can spend vnlesse hee will bee exceedingly excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Tailer, Smith, Sailer, Forger, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they can eat in a weeke; or if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choise, yet sell it or change it with the Fisher-men or Merchants for any thing you want; and what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt and charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweet aire from Ile to Ile, ouer the silent streames of a calme Sea; wherein the most curious may finde profit, pleasure and content. [1616]

Thus though all men be not fishers, yet all men whatsoeuer may in other matters doe as well, for necessity doth in these cases so rule a common wealth, and each in their seuerall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

Imploiments for Gentlemen.

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them then ranging daily these vnknowne parts, vsing fowling and fishing for hunting and hawking, and yet you shall see the wilde Hawkes giue you some pleasure in seeing them stoupe six or seuen times after one another an houre or two together, at the skulls of Fish in the faire Harbours, as those a shore at a fowle; and neuer trouble nor torment your selues with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horse and man with running and crying, See you not a Hawke: for hunting also, the Woods, Lakes and Riuers affoord not onely chase sufficient for any that delights in that kinde of toile or pleasure, but such beasts [*p.* 214.]

[1616] to hunt, that besides the delicacie of their bodies for food, their skinnes are so rich, as they will recompence thy daily labour with a Captaines pay. [**220**]

Imploiments for Labourers. For Labourers, if those that sow Hempe, Rape, Turnups, Parsnips, Carrats, Cabidge, and such like; giue twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie shillings yeerely for an Acre of Land; and meat, drinke, and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich: when better, or at least as good ground may bee had and cost nothing but labour; it seemes strange to me any such should grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents, men from their wiues, nor seruants from their masters; onely such as with free consent may bee spared: but that each Parish, or Village, in Citie, or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children of thirteene or fourteene yeeres of age, or young maried people that haue small wealth to liue on, here by their labour may liue exceeding well. Prouided alwaies, that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defend them, and meet prouisions for them, for [any] place may be ouer-laine: and it is most necessary to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practise) and sufficient masters of all necessarie mec[h]anicall qualities, to take ten or twelue of them for Apprentises; the Master by this may quickly grow rich, these may learne their trades themselues to doe the like, to a generall and an incredible benefit for King and Countrey, Master and Seruant.

Examples of the *Spaniards*. It would be a History of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such [*p.* 215.] incomparable honor, and constant resolution, so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured in their discoueries and plantations, as may well condemne vs of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence: yet the Authors of these new inuentions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that doe but seeke to imitate their vnparalleld vertues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprung from the Plants of their The causes of our defailments. generous indeuours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that we either ignorantly

beleeue nothing, or so curiously contest, to preuent we know not what future euents; that we either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire Sand rather then vpon rough Rocks, iudge that we know not, gouerne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their wils to be idle, or as ill. And who is hee [that] hath iudgement, courage, and any industry or quality with vnderstanding, will leaue his Country, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweet *England* doth affoord to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by enioying his deserts, whose prosperitie once appearing, will encourage others: but it must be cherished as a childe, till it be able to goe and vnderstand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed aboue it[s] strength, ere it know wherefore. [1616]

A childe can neither performe the office nor deeds of a man of strength, nor endure that affliction he is able: nor can an Apprentise at the first performe the part of a Master. And if twentie yeeres be required to make a childe a man, seuen yeeres limited an Apprentise for his trade: if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States-man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet; if perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must be Practice as well as Theoricke: Let no man then condemne this paradox opinion, to say that halfe seuen yeres is scarce sufficient for a good capacitie to learne in these affaires how to carrie himselfe. And who euer shall try in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the end of seuen yeeres occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and in the *Interim*, all the content, rewards, gaines, [*p.* 216.] and hopes, will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning, till it be able to creepe, to stand, and goe, and to encourage desert by all possible meanes; yet time enough to keepe it from running, for there is no feare it will grow too fast, or euer to any thing, except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the Planters of those affaires in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyrannie, ingratitude, and such double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaues, [221] and honest men turne

[1616] knaues; which hath euer beene the ruine of the most popular Common-weales, and is very vnlikely euer well to begin anew.

The blisse of *Spaine.* Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spaniard*, but these new conclusions in searching those vnknowne parts of this vnknowne world; by which meanes he diues euen into the very secrets of all his neighbours, and the most part of the world; and when the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* had found the *East* and *West-Indies*, how many did condemne themselues, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*, who vpon our neglect brought them to it, perswading our selues the world had no such places as they had found: and yet euer since we finde, they still (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and Trades, and still daily doe finde, both in *Asia*, *Affrica*, *Terra incognita*, and *America*, so that there is neither Souldier nor Mechanicke, from the Lord to the Beggar, but those parts affoords them all imploiment, and discharges their natiue soile of so many thousands of all sorts, that else by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* it selfe.

Now hee knowes little that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries; and seeing for all they haue, they cease not still to search for that they haue not, and know not; it is strange we should be so dull, as not [to] maintaine that which we haue, and pursue that we know.

Surely, I am sure many would take it ill, to be abridged of the titles and honors of their predecessors; when if but truly they would iudge themselues, looke how inferior [*p.* 217.] they are to their Noble Vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honors and liuings, which neuer were ordained for shewes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by Heroicall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it both in their purse and person they would not doe, for the good of their Common-wealth, which might moue them presently to set out their spare children in these generous designes.

Religion aboue all things should moue vs, especially the Clergie, if we are religious, to shew our faith by our works, in conuerting those poore Saluages to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spaniards* takes to bring them to their adultered faith. Honour might moue the Gentry, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all, if we were that we would seeme, and be accounted: or be we so farre inferior to other Nations, or our spirits so farre deiected from our ancient predicessors, or our mindes so vpon spoile, piracy, and such villany, as to serue the *Portugall*, *Spaniard*, *Dutch*, *French*, or *Turke*, (as to the cost of *Europe* too many doe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selues; excusing our idlenesse and our base complaints by want of imploiment, when here is such choice of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discouering these North parts of *America*. [1615-6]

My second voyage to New England.

My second Voiage to *New England*. 1615.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1615. I was imploied by many my friends of *London*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, a noble Knight, and a great fauourer of those actions, who perswaded the reuerend Deane of *Exeter* Doctor *Sut[c]liffe*, and diuers Merchants of the West, to entertaine this Plantation.

Much labour I had taken to bring the *Londoners* and them to ioyne together, because the *Londoners* haue most Money, and the Westerne men are most proper for fishing; and it is neere as much trouble, but much more danger, to saile from *London* to *Plimoth*, then from *Plimoth* to *New England*, so that halfe the voiage would thus be saued: yet by no meanes I could preuaile, so desirous they were both to be Lords of this fishing.

Now to make my words more apparant by my deeds, to begin a Plantation [**222**] for a more ample triall of those conclusions, I was to haue staied there but with sixteene men, whose names were;

[1615] [*pp.* 223, 258, 736, 746, 747.]

Thos. Dirmer.	Gent.	*Thomas Digby.*	were to learne to be Sailers.
Edw. Stallings.		*Daniel Baker.*	
Daniel Cage.		*Adam Smith.*	
Francis Abbot.		*Tho. Watson.*	
Iohn Gosling.	Souldiers.	*Walter Chisell.*	
William Ingram.		*Robert Miller.*	
Dauid Cooper.		And two Boyes	
Iohn Partridge.			

[*p.* 218.] I confesse I could haue wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions beene in like proportion; nor would I haue had so few, could I haue had means for more: yet would God haue pleased we had safely arriued, I doubted not but to haue performed more then I promised, and that many thousands ere this would haue bin there ere now.

The ground and plot for our plantation.

The maine assistance next God I had to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the Saluages, especially with *Dohoday*, one of their greatest Lords, who had liued long in *England* (and another called *Tantum*, I [had] caried with mee from *England*, and set on shore at Cape *Cod*); by the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue got that credit amongst the rest of the Saluages and their alliance, to haue had as many of them as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also they had by such a kinde of exchange of their Countrey Commodities, which both with ease and securitie might then haue beene vsed.

[*p.* 747, 754, 757.]

[*p.* 205.] With him and diuers others, I had concluded to inhabit and defend them against the *Tarentines*, with a better power then the *French* did them; whose tyrannie did inforce them to embrace my offer with no small deuotion.

And though many may think me more bold then wise, in regard of their power, dexteritie, treachery, and inconstancy, [*pp.* 697, 701.] hauing so desperately assaulted and betraied many others; I say but this (because with so many, I haue many times done much more in *Virginia* then I intended here, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught mee) that to me it seemes no more danger then ordinary: and though I know my selfe [to be] the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiue inspection can pierce beyond the bounds of my abilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I intreat such, [to] giue

mee leaue to excuse my selfe of so much imbecillitie, as to say, that in these eighteene yeeres [1606–1624] which I haue beene conuersant with these affaires, I haue not learned, there is a great difference betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall coniecture of variable relation: wherein rumour, humour, or misprision haue such power, that oft times one is enough to beguile twentie, but twentie not sufficient to keepe one from being deceiued. Therefore I know no reason but to beleeue my owne eies before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my owne proiects and endeuours, but I honor with all affection, the counsell and instructions of iudiciall directions, or any other honest aduertisement, so farre to obserue, as they tie me not to the crueltie of vnknowne euents. [1614–5]

The meanes vsed to preuent it and me. [*pp.* 219, 700.]

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imploiments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures, wherein though I haue had many discouragements, by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friends, the treachery of cowards, and slownesse of Aduenturers.

How I set saile and returned.

Now you are to remember, as I returned first from *New England* at *Plimoth*, I was promised foure good ships ready prepared to my hand the next Christmas, and what conditions and content I would desire, to put this businesse in practise, and arriuing at *London*, foure more were offered me with the like courtesie. But to ioyne the *Londoners* and them in one, was most impossible; so that in Ianuary [1615] with two hundred pound in Cash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from *London* to the foure ships were promised me at *Plimoth*, but I found no such matter: and the most of those that had made such great promises, by the bad returne of the ship [that] went for Gold, and their priuate emulations, were extinct and qualified. [*p.* 701.]

Notwithstanding at last, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the [**223**] greatest of the burden lay on me, and a few of my particular friends, I was furnished with a ship of two hundred tunnes, and another of fiftie. But ere I had sailed one hundred and twentie leagues, she brake all her Masts, pumping each watch fiue or six thousand strokes; onely her spret-saile remained to spoone before the winde, till [*p.* 221.]

[1615] we had re-accommodated a Iury-mast to returne for *Plimoth*, or founder in the Seas.

My Vice-Admirall being lost [*i.e.*, *lost sight of*], not knowing of this, proceeded [on] her voyage.

My reimbarkement, encounter with Pirats, and imprisonment by the French.

Now with the remainder of those prouisions, I got out againe in a small Barke of sixtie tuns with thirty men; for this of two hundred [tuns], and prouision for seuentie: which were the sixteene before named [*pp.* 217, 732], and foureteene other Sailers for the ship.

With those I set saile againe the foure and twentieth of Iune [1615]. Where what befell me (because my actions and writings are so publike to the world) enuy still seeking to scandalize my endeuours, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens minds, lest my owne relations of those hard euents might by some constructors bee made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, a worthy Knight, and Vice-Admirall of *Deuonshire*, which was as followeth.

The Examination of Daniel Baker, *late Steward to Captaine* Iohn Smith, *in there turne of* Plimoth, *taken before Sir* Lewis Stukeley *Knight, the eighth of December*, 1615.

THE effect in briefe was this: being chased by one *Fry* an English Pirat, *Edward Chambers* the Master, *Iohn Miller* his Mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pylot, and diuers others importuned him to yeeld; much swaggering wee had with them, more then the Pirats: who agreed vpon such faire conditions as we desired, which if they broke, he vowed to sinke rather then be abused. Strange they thought it, that a Barke of threescore tuns with foure guns should stand vpon such termes, they being eightie expert Sea-men, in an excellent ship of one hundred and fortie tuns, and thirty six cast Peeces and Murderers.

[*p.* 222.]

But when they knew our Captaine, so many of them had beene his Souldiers, and they but lately runne from *Tunis*, where they had stolne this ship, wanted victuall, and in combustion amongst themselues, would haue yeelded all to his protection, or wafted vs any whither: but those mutinies occasioned vs to reiect their offer, which afterward we all repented. [1615]

For at *Fiall* we met two French Pirats, the one of two hundred tuns, the other thirty: no disgrace would cause our mutiners [to] fight, till the Captaine offered to blow vp the ship rather then yeeld, till hee had spent all his powder: so that together by the eares we went, and at last got cleere of them for all their shot.

At *Flowers* we were againe chased with foure French men of warre, the *Admirall* one hundred and fortie tuns, and ninety men well armed; the rest good ships, and as well prouided: much parly we had, but vowing they were *Rochilers*, and had a Commission from the King onely to secure true men, and take *Portugals*, *Spaniards*, and Pirats, and as they requested, our Captaine went to shew his Commission, which was vnder the broad Seale; but neither it nor their vowes they so much respected, but they kept him, rifled our ship, manned her with French men, and dispersed vs amongst their Fleet. Within fiue or six daies they were increased to eight or nine saile.

At last they surrendred vs our ship, and most of our prouisions; the defects they promised the next day to supply, and did. Notwithstanding, there was no way but our mutiners would for *England*, though we were as neere *New England*; till the major part resolued with our Captaine to proceed.

But the *Admirall* sending his Boat for our Captaine, they espying a Saile, presently gaue chase; whereby our mutiners finding an opportunitie in the night ran away, and thus left our Captaine in his Cap, Bretches, and Wastcoat, alone among the French men: his clothes, armes, and what he had, our mutiners shared among them, and with a false excuse, faining [224] for feare lest he should turne man of warre, they returned for

[1615] *Plimoth*: fifteene of vs being Land-men, not knowing what they did.

[p. 223.] *Daniel Cage*, *Edward Stalings*, *Walter Chisell*, *Dauid Cooper*, *Robert Miller*, and *Iohn Partridge*, vpon oath affirmes this for truth before the Vice-Admirall.

A double treachery.

NOw the cause why the French detained mee againe, was the suspition this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them, that I would reuenge my selfe vpon the *Banke*, or in *Newfound land*, of all the French I could there encounter; and how I would haue fired the ship, had they not ouer-perswaded me: and that if I had but againe my Armes, I would rather sinke by them, then they should haue from me but the value of a Bisket; and many other such like tales to catch but opportunitie in this manner to leaue me, and thus they returned to *Plimoth*, and perforce with the French men I thus proceeded.

A fleet of nine French men of war, and fights with the Spaniard.

Being a fleet of eight or nine saile, we watched for the *West-Indies* fleet, till ill weather separated vs from the other eight: still wee spent our time about the Iles of the *Assores*, where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this Discourse, thinking to haue sent it to you of his Maiesties Councell by some ship or other, for I saw their purpose was to take all they could.

At last we were chased by one Captaine *Barra*, an English Pirat in a small ship, with some twelue Peece[s] of Ordnance, about thirty men, and neere all starued. They sought by courtesie releefe of vs, who gaue them such faire promises, as at last they betraied Captaine *Wollistone* his Lieutenant, and foure or fiue of his men aboord vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce.

Now my part was to be prisoner in the Gun-roome, and not to speake to any of them vpon my life; yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing well those French intents, made ready to fight, and *Wollistone* as

resolutely regarded not their threats, which caused vs [to] demurre vpon the matter longer some sixteene houres, and then returned them againe Captaine *Wollistone* and all their Prisoners, and some victuall also vpon a small composition. [1615]

But whilest we were bartering thus with them; a Caruill before our faces got vnder the Castle of *Gratiosa*, from whence they beat vs with their Ordnance.

A prise of Fish.

The next wee tooke was a small English man of *Poole* from *New found land*: the great Cabben at this present was my prison, from whence I could see them pillage these poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish: when hee was gone, they sold his poore clothes at the maine Mast by an out-cry, which scarce gaue each man seuen pence a peece.

A Scotch prise. [*p.* 225.]

Not long after, we tooke a *Scot* fraught from Saint *Michaels* to *Bristow*, he had better fortune then the other; for hauing but taken a Boats loading of Sugar, Marmelade, Suckets, and such like, we descried foure saile, after whom we stood: who forling their maine Sailes attended vs to fight, but our French spirits were content onely to perceiue they were English red Crosses.

Within a very small time after, wee chased 4. Spanish ships that came from the *Indies*: we fought with them foure or fiue houres, tore their sailes and sides with many a shot betwixt wind and weather, yet not daring to boord them, lost them; for which, all the Sailers euer after hated the Captaine as a professed coward.

A prise worth 3600c crownes.

A poore Caruill of *Brasile* was the next wee chased; and after a small fight, thirteene or foureteene of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe, we tooke her with three hundred and seuenty chests of Sugar, one hundred hides, thirty thousand Rialls of eight. [*p.* 739.]

The next was a ship of *Holland*, which had lost her Consorts in the Streights of *Magilans*, going for the South sea. She was put roomy, she also these French men with faire promises, cunningly betraied to come aboord them to shew their Commission, and so made prise of all: the most of the *Dutch-men* we tooke aboord the *Admirall*, and manned her [*the Dutch ship*] with *French-men*, that within two or three nights after ran away with her for *France*. The wounded *Spaniards* we set on shore on the Ile of *Tercera*, the rest we kept to saile the Caruill.

[1615] Within a day or two after, we met a *West-Indies* man of warre, of one hundred [225] and sixtie tuns, a forenoone wee fought with her, and then tooke her with one thousand one hundred Hides, fiftie Chests of Cutchanele, foureteene Coffers of wedges of Siluer, eight thousand Rialls of eight, and six Coffers of the King of *Spaines* Treasure, besides the good pillage and rich Coffers of many rich Passengers.

A prise worth 200000 crownes.

[*f.* 739.]

Two moneths [*Aug.–Oct.* 1615] they kept me in this manner, to manage their fights against the *Spaniards*, and bee a Prisoner when they tooke any English. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me on shore [on] the Iles [*Azores*], or the next ship he tooke; yet at the last he was contented I should goe in the Caruill of Sugar for *France*, himselfe seeming as resolued to keepe the Seas: but the next morning we all set saile for *France*, and that night we were separated from the *Admirall* and the rich prise by a storme.

[*f.* 739.]

Within two daies after, wee [*in the Caravel*] were hailed by two *West-Indies* men: but when they saw vs waife them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot thorow our maine Mast, and so left vs.

Hauing liued now this Summer [*Aug.–Nov.* 1615] amongst those French men of warre, with much adoe we arriued at the *Gulion*, not farre from *Rotchell:* where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction and full content, and tenne thousand Crownes was generally concluded I should haue; they kept me fiue or six daies Prisoner in the Caruill, accusing me to be he that burnt their Colony in *New France*, to force me to giue them a discharge before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, and stand to their courtesies for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischiefe.

Indeed this was in the time of combustion, that the Prince of *Cundy* was with his Army in the field; and euery poore Lord, or men in authoritie, as little Kings of themselues. For this iniury was done me by them that set out this voyage (not by the Sailers); for they were cheated of all as well as I, by a few Officers aboord, and the owners on shore.

My escape from the French men.

[*f.* 226.]

But to preuent this choise, in the end of such a storme that beat them all vnder hatches, I watched my opportunitie to get a shore in their Boat; whereinto in the darke

night I secretly got, and with a halfe Pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat* Ile: but the currant was so strong, and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea, till it pleased God the wind so turned with the tide, that although I was all this fearefull night of gusts and raine in the Sea the space of twelue houres, when many ships were driuen ashore, and diuers split: (and being with skulling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke me) at last I arriued in an Oazy Ile by *Charowne*, where certaine Fowlers found me neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, cold, and hunger. [1615]

My Boat I pawned to finde meanes to get to *Rotchell*; where I vnderstood our man of war and the rich prize, [*A.* 738.] (wherein was the Captaine called *Mounsieur Poyrune*, and the thirtie thousand Rialls of eight we tooke in the Caruill), [*A.* 737.] was split; the Captaine drowned and halfe his Company the same night, within six or seuen leagues of that place, from whence I escaped in the little Boat by the mercy of God, far beyond all mens reason or my expectation.

What law I had.

Arriuing at *Rotchell:* vpon my complaint to the Iudge of the Admiraltie, I found many good words and faire promises; and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, told me the newes they heard of my owne death. These I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held proofe sufficient.

All which being performed according to their order of justice, from vnder the Iudges hand, I presented it to Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, then Ambassadour at *Burdeaux*; where it was my chance to see the arriuall [21 *Nov.* 1615] of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*.

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Master *Crampton*, that no lesse grieued at my losse, then willingly to his power did supply my wants; and I must confesse, I was more beholden to the French men that escaped drowning in the man of warre, Madam *Chanoyes* [*A.* 277.] at *Rotchell*, and the Lawyers of *Burdeaux*, then all the rest of my Country-men I met in *France*. Of the wracke of the [**226**] rich prize, some three thousand six hundred [*A.* 738.] crownes worth of goods came ashore and was saued, with the Caruill, which I did my best to arrest: the Iudge promised I should haue Iustice, what will be the con-

[1615-6] clusion as yet [*June* 1616] I know not. But vnder the couler to take Pirats and the *West-Indie* men (because the *Spaniards* will not suffer the French to trade in the *West-Indies*) any goods from thence, though they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine*, are lawfull prize, or from any of his Territories out of the limits of *Europe:* and as they betraied me, though I had the broad-seale, so did they rob and pillage twentie saile of English men more, besides them I knew not of, the same yeere.

My returne for England. [*p.* 227.]

Leauing thus my businesse in *France* I returned [*Dec.* 1615] to *Plimoth*, to finde them [that] had thus buried me amongst the French; and not onely buried me, but with so much infamy as such treacherous cowards could [*p.* 745.] suggest to excuse their villanies.

The Chiefetaines of this mutiny that I could finde, I laid by the heeles; the rest, like themselues, confessed the truth, as you haue heard.

Now how I haue or could preuent these accidents, hauing no more meanes, I rest at your censures; but to proceed to the matter; yet must I sigh and say, How oft hath Fortune in the world (thinke I) brought slauery, freedome, and turned all diuersly.

NEwfoundland I haue heard, at the first, was held as desperate a fishing as this I proiect for *New England*. *Placentia*, and the *Banke*, neare also as doubtfull to the French. But for all the disasters hapned [to] me, the businesse is the same it was, and the fiue ships [that] went from *London*, whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes, found fish so much, that neither *Izeland* man, nor *Newfoundland* man, [that] I could heare of hath bin there, will go any more to either place, if they may go thither.

The successe of my Vice-Admirall.

So that vpon the good returne of my *Vice-Admirall*; this yeere [1616] are gone 4 or 5 saile from *Plimoth*, and from *London* as many, only to make voyages of profit: whereas if all the English had bin there till my returne, put all their returnes together, they would scarce make one a sauour of neere a dozen I could nominate, except one

sent by Sir *Francis Pop*[*h*]*am*; though there be fish sufficient, as I am perswaded, to fraught yeerely foure or fiue hundred Saile, or as many as will goe. [1616] [*p.* 228.]

For this fishing stretcheth along the Sea Coast from Cape *Iames* to *Newfoundland*, which is seuen or eight hundred miles at the least; and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yere long: keeping their ha[u]nts and feedings, as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But all men are not such as they should be, that haue vndertaken those voyages: All the *Romans* were not *Scipioes*; nor *Carthagenians*, *Hanibals*; nor all the *Genweses*, *Columbusses*; nor all the *Spaniards*, *Courteses*: had they diued no deeper in the secrets of their discoueries then we, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidentall chances, they had neuer beene remembered as they are, yet had they no such certainties to begin as we.

But to conclude, *Adam* and *Eue* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry. *Noe* and his family began againe the second Plantation; and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Countrey another, and so the world to that estate it is: but not without much hazard, trauell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthy Fathers, and their memorable off-spring, not beene more diligent for vs now in these ages, then we are to plant that yet is vnplanted for the after liuers. Had the seed of *Abraham*, our Sauiour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselues to no more dangers to teach the Gospell then we, euen wee our selues had at this present beene as saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage, yet vnciuilized. [*pp.* 228, 934.]

The *Hebrewes* and *Lacedemonians*, the *Gothes*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the rest, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Teritories, enrich their subiects, resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no siluered idle golden Pharis[i]es, but industrious Iron steeled Publicans: They regarded more prouisions

[1616] and necessaries [227] for their people, then Iewels,
[*p.* 229.] riches, ease, or delight for themselues; Riches were their Seruants, not their Masters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tirants) their people as Children, not as Slaues; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountred not with all manner of incumbrances. And what hath euer beene the worke of the greatest Princes of the Earth, but planting of Countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to ciuilitie and humanitie, whose eternall actions fills our Histories. Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, whose euer-liuing actions before our eies will testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion. We owe our God, our King and Countrey, and want of Charitie to those poore Saluages, whose Countrey wee challenge, vse and possesse; except wee be but made to vse, and marre what our fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme our selues too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them to prouide that doth maintaine vs, and basenesse in vs to doe the like for others? Surely no.
[*pp.* 229,936.] Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to help other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or our bad by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue, to carie our soules to heauen or hell. Seeing honor is our liues ambition, and our ambition after death to haue an honorable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignities and glories of our predecessors, let vs imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors: to conclude with *Lucretius*,

> *Its want of reason, or its reasons want*
> *Which doubts the minde and iudgement, so doth dant,*
> *That those beginnings makes men not to grant.*

Iohn Smith writ this with his owne hand.

Here followeth a briefe Discourse of the trials of *New England*, with certaine Obseruations of the *Hollanders* vse and gaine by fishing, and the present estate of that happy Plantation, begun but by sixtie weake men, in the yeere of our Lord 1620. and how to build a fleet of good ships to make a little Nauy Royall, by the former Author.

[*pp.* 749-69.]

[*pp.* 773-5.]

HE saith, that it is more then foure and forty yeeres agoe [*i.e.*, *by* 1577], and it is more then fortie yeeres agoe [1577] since he writ it; that the Herring Busses out of the Low Countries vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fiue hundred, besides one hundred French men, and three or foure hundred saile of *Flemings*. [1620-2] Master *Dee* his report. [*pp.* 238,254.]

The Coast of *Wales* and *Lancashire* was vsed by 300 Saile of Strangers.

Ireland at *Beltamore*, fraughted yeerely three hundred saile of *Spaniards*, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the straight, to haue tribute for fishing.

Black Rocke was yerely fished by three or foure hundred saile of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *Biskiners*.

The *Hollanders* raise yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, thirty [*or rather* three hundred] thousand pounds. The benefit of fishing, as Master *Gentleman* and others report.

English and French, by Salt-fish, Poore-Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, three hundred [*or rather* thirty] thousand pounds.

[1620] *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, one hundred thousand pounds.

Cape *Blanke* for Tunny and Mullit, by the *Biskiners* and *Spaniards*, thirty thousand pounds.

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yeerely tribute of the Fishers, for Tunny, Mullit, and Porgos, more then ten thousand pounds.

The Records of *Holland* and other learned obseruers.

Lubecke hath seuen hundred [228] ships; *Hambrough* six hundred; *Emden* [but] lately a Fisher towne, one thousand foure hundred: whose customes by fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Zeland* not much greater then *Yorkeshire*, hath thirty walled Townes, foure hundred Villages, and twenty thousand saile of Ships and Hoies; three thousand [p. 239.] six hundred [ships] are Fisher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, seuen hundred Pinkes and Well-Boats, seuen hundred Fraud-boats, Britters, and Tode-boats, with thirteene hundred Busses; besides three hundred that yeerely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for Gold: and fifteene yeeres agoe [1605] they had more then an hundred and sixteene thousand Sea-faring men.

[p. 255.] These fishing ships doe take yeerely two hundred thousand last of fish, twelue barrels to a last, which amounts to 300000[0]. pounds by the fisher mens price, that 14. yeeres agoe [1606] did pay for their tenths three hundred thousand pound; which venting in *Pumerland*, *Sprustia*, *Denmarke*, *Lefeland*, *Russia*, *Swethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or else where, &c. makes their returnes in a yeere about threescore and ten hundred thousand pounds, which is seuen millions; and yet in *Holland* there is neither matter to build ships nor merchandize to set them forth, yet by their industry they as much increase as other nations decay.

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine.

That the coast of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the North Sea with *Island* and the *Sound*, *Newfound-land* and Cape *Blanke*, doe serue all Europe, as well the land townes as ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of staple fish, which is transported from whence it is taken

many a thousand mile, *viz.* Herring, salt Fish, Poore-Iohn, Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Cauiare, Buttargo. [1614–7]

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them may be had in a land more fertill, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boats and houses, and the nourishment of man; the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neere the habitations we may there make, that *New-England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all Europe farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from the habitation. But *New-Englands* fishings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruits, Fowles, Corne or other refreshings needfull, and the [*p.* 240.] *Terceras*, *Mederas*, *Canaries*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *Prouaues*, *Sauoy*, *Sicillia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare and Buttargo, as *Norway*, *Swethland*, *Littuania* or *Germany* for their Herring, which is heare also in abundance for taking; they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tar, Sope-ashes, Cordage, [*p.* 256.] Flax, Wax, and such like commodities: wee Wines, Oiles, Sugars, Silkes, and such merchandize as the Straits [*i.e.*, *of Gibraltar*] offoord [*afford*]; whereby our profit may equalize theirs, besides the increase of shipping and Marriners: and for proofe hereof.

In the yeere of our Lord 1614. you haue read how 1614. I went from *London:* also the next yeere 1615. how foure 1615. good ships went from *London*, and I with two more from *Plimoth*, with all our accidents, successes and returnes: in the yeere 1616. ere I returned [*Dec.* 1615] from *France*, the [*pp.* 241, 257.] Londoners for all their losse by the Turkes, sent foure 1616. ships more; foure more also went from *Plimoth*.

After I returned from *France*, I was perswaded againe to goe to *Plimouth*, with diuers of my friends with one hundred pound for our aduentures besides our charges; but wee [*p.* 740.] found all things as vntoward as before, and all their great promises nothing but aire: yet to prepare the voyage against the next yeere, hauing acquainted a great part of the 1617.

[1617-8] Nobility with it, and ashamed to see the Prince his Highnesse till I had done some what worthy his Princely view; I spent that Summer [1616] in visiting the Cities and Townes of *Bristoll*, *Exeter*, *Bastable*, *Bodnam*, *Perin*, *Foy*, *Milborow*, *Saltash*, *Dartmouth*, *Absom*, *Tattnesse*, and the most of the Gentry in *Cornewall* and *Deuonshire*, giuing them Bookes and Maps, shewing how in six moneths the most of [**229**] those ships had made their voyages, and some in lesse, and with what good successe; by which incitation they seemed so well contented, as they promised twenty saile of ships should goe with mee next yeere [1617], and in regard of my paines, charge, and former losses, the westerne Commissioners in behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Company, and them hereafter that should be ioyned to them, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters-Patents so to be nominated. Halfe the fruits of our endeuours to be theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the businesse is made plaine and likely to prosper, some of them would not onely forget me and their promises, but also obscure me, as if I had neuer beene acquainted in the businesse: but I am not the first they haue deceiued.

My suite to the Country.

[pp. 267, 748, 943.]

1618. There was foure good ships prepared at *Plimoth*, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward: the one being of two hundred tunnes, returned well fraught to *Plimoth*, and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other of fourescore tunnes, went for Bilbow with drie fish and made a good returne.

[pp. 241, 257.]

In this voyage *Edward Rowcroft*, alias *Stallings*, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with me in *Virginia*, and was with me also when I was betrayed by the French, was sent againe in those ships, and hauing some wrong offered him there by a French man, he tooke him [*i.e.*, *his ship*], and as he writ to me, went with him to *Virginia* with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare. He had not past ten or twelue men, and knew both those countries well, yet he promised me the next spring to meet me in *New-England*; but the ship and he both perished in *Virginia*.

[pp. 217, 223, 332, 736.]

This yeere againe, diuers ships intending to goe from *Plimoth*, so disagreed, there went but one of two hundred tunnes, who stayed in the Country about six weeks, which with eight and thirty men and boies had her fraught, which she sold at the first penny for 2100. [pounds] besides the Furres: so that euery poore Sailer that had but a single share had his charges and sixteene pound ten shillings for his seuen moneths worke. [1619-20] 1619. [*pp.* 242, 258.] [*p.* 941.]

Master *Thomas Dirmire* an vnderstanding and industrious Gentleman, that was also with me amongst the French men, hauing liued about a yeere in *Newfoundland*, returning to *Plimoth*, went for *New-England* in this ship, so much approued of this Country, that he staied there with fiue or six men in a little Boat; finding two or three French men amongst the Saluages who had lost their ship, [he] augmented his company, with whom he ranged the Coast to *Virginia*: where he was kindly welcommed and well refreshed [*Nov.* 1619], thence returned to *New-England* againe; where hauing beene a yeere, in his backe returne to *Virginia* [1621] he was so wounded by the Saluages, he died vpon it. [*pp.* 217, 732.] [*pp.* 259, 542, 770.]

Let not men attribute these their great aduentures, and vntimely deaths to vnfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserue them with so small meanes to doe so much; leauing the fruits of their labours to be an incouragement to those our poore vndertakings, and as warnings for vs not to vndertake such great workes with such small meanes: and this for aduantage as they writ vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by ciuill warres and a mortall disease, for where I had seene one hundred or two hundred Saluages, there is scarce ten to be found, and yet not any one of them [*Dermer's crew*] touched with any sicknesse but one poore French man that died. [*pp.* 719, 754, 933.]

They say this plague vpon them thus sore fell,
It was because they pleas'd not Tantum *well.* [*pp.* 732, 754, 757.]

From the West Country to make triall this yeere onely to fish, is gone six or seuen saile, three of which I am certainly informed made so good a voyage, that euery Sailer that had a single share had twenty pound for his 1620.

[1620-1] seuen moneths work, which is more then in twenty moneths he should haue gotten, had he gone [**230**] for wages any where.

Now although these former ships haue not made such good voiages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there was, which now patience and practice hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection; in despight of all detractors and calumnia-
[*pp.* 242,259.] tions, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath beene in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me: But,

A due desert, for fortune makes prouision
For Knaues and Fooles, and men of base condition.

My su[i]te to the Citie.

NOw all these proofes and this relation I now called *New-Englands* triall. I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed: one thousand with a great many Maps both of *Virginia*
[*pp.* 242, 266, 941.] and *New-England*, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in *London* at their Halls, desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it, and by the vse of a stocke of fiue thousand pound, to ease them of the superfluity of the most of their companies that had but strength and health to labour.

Neere a yeere [1621] I spent to vnderstand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment, then to haue beene in *New-England* about my businesse but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge, as all
[*p.* 746.] the rest.

A Plantation in *New-England.* 1620.

UPon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen, and Merchants of *London* and other places, prouided two ships, the one of a hundred and threescore tunnes, the other of threescore and ten. They left the Coast of *England* the two and thirtieth [*twentieth*] of August [1620], with about a hundred and twenty persons; but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimoth*: where discharging her and twenty passengers; with the greater ship and one hundred passengers besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September [1620], and the ninth of Nouember fell with Cape *Iames*. [1620] [p. 259.] [p. 260.]

But being pestred nine weekes in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their Cabins, most of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea; then for want of experience, ranging two [*weeks*], and againe six weekes, before they found a place they liked to dwell on; forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture: forty of them died, and threescore were left in very weake estate, at the ships comming away, about the fifth of Aprill following, and [she] arriued in *England* the sixth of May [1621].

Though the Harbour [*at Cape Cod, pp.* 205, 719] be good, the shore is so shallow, they were forced to wade a great way vp to the knees in water, and vsed that that did them much hurt; and little fish they found but Whailes, and a great kinde of Mustell so fat, that few did eat of them that were not sicke: these miseries ocasioned some discord, and gaue some appearance of faction; but all was so reconciled, that they vnited themselues by common consent vnder their hands, to a kinde of combination of a body politike,

[1620] by vertue whereof to inact and constitute lawes and ordinances, and Officers from time to time, as should bee thought most conuenient for their generall good.

Their first iourny by land.

Sixteene or seuenteene daies they could doe little for want of their Shallop which was a mending; yet Captaine *Miles Standish*, vnto whom was ioyned in Councell, *William Bradfor*[*d*], *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Tilly*, went well armed ashore; and by that time they had gone a mile, [they] met fiue or six Indians that fled into the Woods.

We traced them by the footing eight or ten miles, then the night approaching we made a fire, by which we lay that night; and the next morning followed the Saluages by their tract, thinking to finde their habitations, but by [231] the way we found a Deere amongst many faire springs of water, where we refreshed our selues. Then we went a shore and made a fire, that they at the ship might perceiue where we were, and so marched to a place where we supposed was a Riuer; by the way we saw many Vines, Saxefras, haunts of Deere and Fowle, and some fifty Acres of plaine ground [that] had beene planted by the Indians, where were some of their graues: from thence we followed a path that brought vs through three or foure fields that had bin planted that yeere; in one graue we digged, we found a basket or two of Indian Corne, so much as we could carry we tooke with vs, the rest we buried as we found it, and so proceeded to the place we intended, but we found it not such a Harbour as we expected. And so we returned, till the night caused vs [to] take vp our lodging vnder a tree; where it rained six or seuen houres.

The next morning, as we wandred, we passed by a tree, where a young sprig was bowed downe ouer a bough, and some Acornes strewed vnder it, which was one of their Gins to catch a Deere; and as we were looking at it, *Bradford* was suddenly caught by the leg in a noosed Rope, made as artificially as ours. As we passed we see a lease of Bucks, sprung some Partriges, and great flocks of wilde Geese and Ducks; and so we returned well wearied to our ship.

Their first iourny by Shallop.

Master *Iones* our Master with foure and thirty men, also went vp and downe in the frost and snow, two or three daies, in the extremity of the cold; but could finde no

harbour: only among the old graues we got some ten bushels of Corne, some Beanes, and a bottle of Oile; and had we not thus haply found it, we had had no Corne for seede, so that place we euer called *Corne-hill.* [1620]

The next day, Master *Iones* with the Corne and our weakest men returned to the Ship: but eighteene of vs quartered there that night, and in the morning following the paths, wee found in the Snow in a field a greater hill or graue then the rest, digging it wee found first a Mat, vnder that a boord three quarters long, painted and carued with three Tyns at the top like a Cronet, betweene the Mats also were Bowles, Traies and Dishes and such trash, at length we found a faire new Mat, and vnder that two bundles, the one biggar the other lesse; in the greater wee found a great quantity of fine red powder like a kinde of imbalmement, and yeelded a strong but no offensiue smell, with the bones and skull of a man that had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed, a Knife, a Pack-needle, and two or three old Iron things was bound vp in a Sailers canuase Cassocke, also a paire of cloth Breeches; in the lesse bundle we found likewise of the same powder, and the bones and head of a little childe; about the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and braslets of white beades, there was also a little Bow, and some other odde knacks, the prettiest we tooke, and couered againe the corps as they were. Not farre from thence were two of their houses, where were a great deale of their miserable houshold stuffe; which we left as wee found, and so returned to our Boat, and lay aboord that night.

Many arguments we had to make here our Plantation or not. In the *Int[e]rim*, Mistris *White* was brought to bed of a young sonne, which was called *Perigrine:* and a Sailer shooting at a Whale, his peece flew in peeces stocke and all, yet he had no hurt. A foolish boy discharging his fathers peece hard by halfe a barrell of Powder, and many people by it; it pleased God it escaped firing, so that no hurt was done. Accidents.

But to make a more certaine discouery where to seat our selues, Captaine *Standish*, Master *Caruer*, *William Branford* [*Bradford*], *Edward Winslo[w]e*, *Iohn Tilly*, *Edward Tilly*, with diuers others to the number of seuenteene, vpon

[1620] the sixt of December [1620] set saile; and hauing sailed six
Their second iourney by water to finde a place to plant in.
or seuen leagues, we espied eight or ten Saluages about a dead Grampus: still following the shore we found two or three more cast vp by the ill weather. Many we see in the water, therefore we called it *Grampus Bay*. Ships may ride well in it, but all the shore is very shallow flats of sand.

At last seuen or eight of vs went a shore, many fields we saw where the Saluages had inhabited, and a buriall place incompassed with a Palizado, so we returned to our Shallop: [**232**] in the night we heard a hideous cry and howling of Wolues and Foxes.

Their first fight with the Saluages.
In the morning as we were ready to goe into our Shallop, one of our men being in the woods, came running crying, Indians, Indians; and with all their Arrowes flying amongst vs, some of our men being in the boat, and their Armes a shore: so well it chanced, Captaine *Standish* with two or three more discharged their peeces till the rest were ready. One Saluage more stout then the rest, kept
[*p.* 754.]
vnder a tree, till he had shot three or foure Arrowes, and endured three or foure Musket shot; but at last they all fled. This was about breake of day in the morning, when they saw vs, and we not them.

The description of their place to plant in.
Hauing the wind faire, we sailed along the coast 8. or 10. leagues, thinking to haue got to a Harbour where one of our company had beene, within 8. leagues of Cape *Cod*, for neither cricke nor Harbour in this bay we could finde; and the wind so increased, our Rudder broke, and our Mast flew ouer-boord, that we were in danger to be cast away: but at last it pleased God we were in a harbor we knew not, thinking it [the] one we were acquainted with; this we found to be an Ile where we rid that night.

And hauing well viewed the land about it, and sounded the Bay to be a good Harbour for our ship, compassed with good land, and in it two faire Iles; where there is in their seasons innumerable store of all sorts of fish and fowle, good water, much plaine land, which hath beene planted: with this newes we returned to our ship; and with the next faire wind brought her thither, being but within the sight
Another Boy borne in *New-England*.
of Cape *Cod*. In the meane time *Goodwife Alderton* was deliuered of a sonne, but dead borne.

Vpon the 28. of December [1620], so many as could

went to worke vpon the hill, where we purposed to build our Platforme [*battery or fort*] for our ordnance: which doth command all the Plaine and the Bay, and from whence wee may see far into the Sea; and be easily impailed. So in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and diuided our company into 19. families, alotting to euery person a poule in bredth and three in length: and so we cast lots where euery man should lie, which we staked out; thinking this proportion enough at the first to impale for lodgings and gardens. [1620–1] Their first Plantation.

Francis Billington from the top of a tree seeing a great water some three miles from vs in the land, went with the Masters Mate, and found it two great Lakes of fresh water: the bigger fiue or six miles in circuit, and an Ile in it of a Cables length square; the other three miles in compasse, full of fish and fowle, and two brooks issuing from it; which will be an excellent helpe in time for vs. Where they saw seuen or eight Indian houses, but no people. Two faire Lakes.

Foure being sent a mile or two from our plantation, two of them stragling into the woods was lost, for comming to a Lake of water they found a great Deere, hauing a mastiue Bitch and a Spanell with them, they followed so farre they could not finde the way backe. That afternoone it rained, and did freeze and snow at night: their apparell was very thin, and had no weapons but two sickles, nor any victuals; nor could they finde any of the Saluages habitations. When the night came they were much perplexed that they had no other bed then the earth, nor couerture then the skies; but that they heard, as they thought, two Lions roaring a long time together very nigh them, so not knowing what to doe, they resolued to climbe vp into a tree, though that would be an intollerable cold lodging; expecting their coming they stood at the trees root, and the bitch they held fast by the necke, for shee would haue beene gone to the Lions or what they were, that as it chanced came not nigh them. So they watched the tree that extreme cold night, and in the morning trauelling againe, passing by many lakes, brooks and woods, and in one place where the Saluages had burnt 4. or 5. miles in length, which is a fine champion Country; in the afternoone they discouered the two Iles in their Bay, and so that night, neere famished, Two men lost themselues in the woods.

[1621] they got to their Plantation: from whence they had sent our men euery way to seeke them.

That night the house they [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] had built and thatched, where lay their armes, bedding, powder, &c. tooke fire and was burnt. The Coast is so shoule, [that] the ship rides more then a mile from the Fort: but God be thanked no man was hurt, though much was burnt. [**233**]

Their first conference with a Saluage.

All this time we could not haue conference with a Saluage, though we had many times seene them and had many alarums: so that we drew a Councell, and appointed Captaine *Standish* to haue the command of all martiall actions; but euen in the time of consultation, the Saluages gaue an alarum.

The next day also, as wee were agreeing vpon his [*Standish*'s] orders, came a tall Saluage boldly amongst vs, not fearing any thing, and kindly bad vs welcome in English. He was a *Sagamo*, towards the North, where the ships vse to fish, and did know the names of most of the Masters that vsed thither: such victuall as we had we gaue him, being the first Saluage we yet could speake with.

[*pp.* 719, 747, 933.] He told vs this place where we were was called *Patuxet*, and that all the people three or foure yeeres agoe [1617–18] there died on the plague. In a day or two we could not be rid of him; then he returned to the *Massasoyts* from whence he came, where is some sixty people: but the [*p.* 752.] *Nawsits* are 100. strong, which were they [who] encountred our people at the first.

The second conference.

Two daies after, this *Samoset*, for so was his name, came againe, and brought fiue or six of the *Massasoyts* with him, with certaine skinnes, and certaine tooles they had got that we had left in the woods at their alarums: much friendship they promised, and so departed; but *Samoset* would not leaue vs, but fained himselfe sicke, yet at last he went to entreat the Saluages [to] come againe to confirme a peace.

Now the third time, as we were consulting of our Marshall orders, two Saluages appeared; but when we went to them they vanished: not long after came *Samoset*, [*pp.* 732, 747, 757.] and *Squanto*, a natiue of *Patuxet* where we dwell, and one of them carried into *Spaine* by *Hunt* [*pp.* 219, 698], thence brought into *England*, where a good time he liued: and now

here signified vnto vs, their great *Sachem* of *Massasoyt*, with *Quadaquina* his brother, and all their men, was there by to see vs. Not willing to send our Gouernour, we sent *Edward Wollisio* [*Winslow*] with presents to them both, to know their minds; making him to vnderstand by his Interpreters how King *Iames* did salute him and was his friend. [1621]

After a little conference, with twenty of his men he came ouer the brooke to our Plantation, where we set him vpon a rug; and then [we] brought our Gouernour to him with Drums and Trumpets: where after some circumstances, for they vse few complements, we treated of peace with them to this effect.

Their conditions of peace.

That neither he nor any of his should iniury or doe hurt to any of vs; if they did, he should send vs the offender, that we might punish him: and wee would doe the like to him.

If any did vniustly warre against him, we would aid him, as he should vs against our enemies; and to send to his neighbour confederats to certifie them of this, that they might likewise be comprised in these conditions.

That when any of them came to vs, they should leaue their Bow and Arrowes behinde them; as we would our peeces, when we came to them.

All which the King seemed to like well of, and was applauded of his followers. In his person hee is a very lusty man, in his best yeeres, an able body, graue of countenance, and spare of speech: in his attire little differing from the rest.

After all was done, the Gouernour conducted him to the brooke, but kept our hostage till our messengers returned; in like manner we vsed *Quaddaquina*: so all departed good friends.

Two of his people would haue staied with vs, but wee would not permit them, onely *Samoset* and *Squanto* wee entertained kindly; as yet [11 *Dec.* 1621] wee haue found they intend to keepe promise, for they haue not hurt our men they haue found stragling in the Woods, and are afraid of their powerfull Aduersaries the *Narrohiggansets*, against whom hee hopes to make vse of our helpe.

The next day, *Squanto* went a fishing for Eeles, and in an houre he did tread as many out of the O[o]se with his

[1621] feet as he could lift with his hand, not hauing any other instrument.

A iourney to *Pakanoki.*

But that we might know their habitations so well as they ours, *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Winslo*[*w*] had *Squantum* for their guide and Interpreter, [and were sent] to *Packanoki*, the habitation of the King of *Massasoyt*, with a red horsemans coat for a present, to entreat him by reason we had not victuall to entertaine them [**234**]as we would, he would defend his people so much from visiting vs; and if hee did send, he should alwaies send with the Messenger a copper Chaine they gaue him, that they might know he came from him, and also giue them some of his Corne for seede.

That night they lodged at *Namascet*, some fifteene miles off: by the way we found ten or twelue women and children that still would pester vs till we were weary of them; perceiuing it is the manner of them, where victuall is to bee gotten with most ease, there they will liue: but on that Riuer of *Namaschet* haue beene many habitations of the Saluages that are dead, and the land lies waste; and the Riuer abounding with great plenty of fish, and hath beene much frequented by the French.

A great courage of two old Saluages.

The next day, trauelling with six or seuen Indians, where we were to wade ouer the Riuer, did dwell onely two old men of that Nation then liuing: that thinking vs enemies, sought the best aduantage they could to fight with vs, with a wonderfull shew of courage; but when they knew vs their friends, they kindly welcommed vs.

How the King vsed them.

After, we came to a towne of the *Massasoits*; but at *Pakanoki* the King was not: towards night he arriued and was very proud, both of our message and presents, making a great oration to all his people.

> Was not he *Massasoit*, Commander of the country about him, was not such a towne his, and the people of it, and 20. townes more he named was his? and should they not bring their skins to vs?

To which they answered, they were his and they would.

Victual they had none, nor any lodging but a poore planke or two, a foot high from the ground, whereon his wife and he lay at the one end, we at the other, but a thin Mat vpon them; two more of his chiefe men pressed by

and vpon vs, so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our iourney. [1621]

Although there is such plenty of fish and fowle and wild beasts, yet are they so lasie they will not take paines to catch it till meere hunger constraine them; for in two or three daies we had scarce a meales meat, whereby we were so faint, we were glad to be at home: besides what for the fleas, and their howling and singing in the night in their houses, and the *Musketas* without doores, our heads were as light for want of sleepe, as our bellies empty for want of meat.

A voyage to *Nawsit*.

The next voiage we made was in a Shallop with ten men to *Nawsit*, sixteene miles from vs, to fetch a Boy [that] was lost in the Woods we heard was there, whom *Aspinet* their King had bedecked like a saluage: but very kindly he brought him to vs, and so returned well to *Patuyet* [*i.e.*, *Patuxet*].

IMmediatly after the arriuall of the last ship, they sent another of fiue and fifty tuns to supply them; with seuen and thirty persons they set saile in the beginning of Iuly [1621], but being crossed by westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimoth*, and arriued in *New-England* at *New-Plimoth*, now so called, the 11. of *Nouember*: where they found all the people they left so ill, lusty and well, for all their pouerties, except six that died. 1621. [*p.* 260.]

A moneth they stayed ere they returned to *England*, loaded with Clap-boord, Wainscot and Wallnut, with about three hogs-heads of Beuer skinnes, the 13. of December: and drawing neere our coast was set on by a French man set out by the Marquesse of *Cera*, Gouernour of Ile *D*[*i*]*eu*; where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and company, tooke from them to the value of 500 pound: and after 14. daies sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquesse and his hungry seruants.

NOw you are to vnderstand this 37. brought nothing, but relied wholly on vs; to make vs more miserable then before: which the *Sachem Couanacus* no sooner vnderstood, but [he] sent to *Tusquantum* our Interpreter, a bundle of new arrowes [*pp.* 732, 747, 754.]

[1621] in a Snakes skinne. *Tusquantum* being absent, the Messenger departed: but when we vnderstood it was a direct challenge, we returned the skin full of powder and shot, with an absolute defiance; which caused vs [to] finish our fortification with all expedition. Now betwixt our two Saluages, *Tusquantum* and *Hobbamock*, grew such great emulation, we had much adoe to know whieh best to trust.

In a iourney we vndertooke, in our way we met a Saluage of *Tusquantums*, that had cut his face [**235**] fresh bleeding, to assure vs *Massasoyt* our supposed friend, had drawne his forces to *Packanokick* to assault vs. *Hobomak* as confidently assured vs it was false, and sent his wife as an espy to see; but when she perceiued all was well, shee told the King *Massasoyt* how *Tusquantum* had abused him. Diuers Saluages also hee had caused to beleeue we would destroy them, but he would doe his best to appease vs; this he did onely to make his Countrymen beleeue what great power hee had with vs to get bribes on both sides, to make peace or warre when he would: and the more to possesse them with feare, he perswaded many, we had buried the plague in our store house; which wee could send when we listed whither wee would.

But at last all his knauery being discouered, *Massasowat* sent his knife with Messengers for his head or him, being his subiect. With much adoe, we appeased the angry King and the rest of the Saluages, and freely forgaue *Tusquantum*; because he speaking our language, we could not well be without him.

A iourney to the Towne of Namaschet, *in defence of the King of* Massasoyt, *against the* Narrohigganses; *and the supposed death of* Squantum.

A Great difference there was betwixt the *Narrohigganses* and the *Massasoytes*, that had alwaies a iealousie; [and] *Coubatant* one of their petty *Sachems* was too conuersant with the *Narrohigganses*. This *Coubatant* liued much at *Namaschet*, and much stormed at our peace with his King and others; also at

Squantum, and *Tokamahamon*, and *Hobomak* our friends, and chiefe occasioners of our peace, for which he sought to mu[r]ther *Hobomak*. Yet *Tokamahamon* went to him, vpon a rumour he had taken *Masasoyt* prisoner, or forced him from his Country; but the other two would not, but in priuat to see if they could heare what was become of their King. [1621]

Lodging at *Namaschet* they were discouered to *Coubatant*, who surprized the house and tooke *Squantum*; saying, if hee were dead the English had lost their tongue: *Hobomak* seeing that, and [that] *Coubatant* held a knife at his brest, being a strong lusty fellow, brake from them; and came to *New-Plimoth*, full of sorrow for *Squantum*, whom he thought was slaine.

They surprise the Saluages.

The next day, we sent ten men with him armed, to be reuenged on *Coubatant*; who conducted vs neere *Namaschet*, where we rested and refreshed our selues til midnight, and then we beset the house as we had resolued. Those that entred the house demanded for *Coubatant*, but the Saluages were halfe dead with feare: we charged them not to stirre, for we came to hurt none but *Coubatant*, for killing *Squantum*. Some of them seeking to escape was wounded; but at last perceiuing our ends, they told vs *Coubatant* was gone and all his men, and *Squantum* was yet liuing, and in the towne. In this hurly burly we discharged two peeces at randome, which much terrified all the inhabitants except *Squantum* and *Tokamahamon*; who though they knew not the end of our comming, yet assured themselues of our honesties, that we would not hurt them. The women and children hung about *Hobomak*, calling him friend; and when they saw we would hurt no women, the young youths cryed we are women. To be short, we kept them all; and whilest we were searching the house for *Coubatant*, *Hobomak* had got to the top, and called *Squantum* and *Tokamahamon*; which came vnto vs accompanied with others, some armed, others naked. Those that had bowes we tooke them from them, promising them againe when it was day. The house wee tooke for our quarter that night, and discharged the prisoners; and the next morning went to breakfast to *Squantums* house.

Thither came all them that loued vs to welcome vs, but all *Coubatants* faction was fled. Then we made them plainly know the cause of our comming, and if their King

[1621-2] *Massasoyt* were not well, we would be reuenged vpon the *Narrohigganſets*, or any that should doe iniury to *Hobomak*, *Squantum*, or any of their friends. As for those [that] were wounded we were sorry for it, and offered our Surgion should heale them: of this offer a man and a woman accepted, that went [**236**] home with vs, accompanied with *Squantum*, and many other knowne friends, that offered vs all the kindnesse they could.

[*p.* 261.] FRom the West of *England* there is gone ten or twelue ships to fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow, made seuenteene pound a single share, besides Beuers, Otters, and Martins skinnes: but some of the rest that came to the same ports, that were all ready furnished, so glutted the market, that the price was abated; yet all returned so well contented, that they are a preparing to goe againe.

1622. There is gone from the West Countrey onely to fish, fiue and thirtie ships: and about the last of Aprill [1622] two more from *London*; the one of one hundred tunnes, the other of thirtie, with some sixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation [*i.e.*, *Weston's men, see pp.* 762, 764, 892, 942, 946].

Now though the *Turke* and *French* hath beene somewhat too busie in taking our ships, would all the Christian Princes be truly at vnitie, as his Royall Maiestie our Soueraigne King *Iames* desireth, seuentie Saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his Coasts in the [*p.* 262.] Leuant, and make such a guard in the Straights of *Hellespont*, as would make the great *Turke* himselfe more affraid in *Constantinople*, then the smallest Red-Crosse that crosses the Seas would be, either of any French *Pickaroun*, or the Pirats of *Algere*.

An abstract of diuers Relations sent from the Colony in New England, *July* 16. 1622.

Notes and obseruations. SInce the massacre in *Virginia* [*on* 22 *Mar.* 1622], though the *Indians* continue their wonted friendship, yet wee are more wary of them then before; for their hands hath beene imbrued in much English bloud, onely by too much confidence, but not by force: and we haue had small supplies of any thing but men.

HEre I must intreat a little your fauours to digresse, they did not kill the English in *Virginia*, because they were Christians: but for their weapons and Copper, which were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their dens, which Lions and Tigers will not admit [of] but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, and discourage any in *Virginia* or *New England:* No, for I haue tried them both, as you may reade at large in the Historie of *Virginia*; notwithstanding since I came from thence, the Honourable Company hath beene humble suiters to his Maiestie, to get vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so the businesse hath beene so abused, that so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were. Yet for all the worst of spight, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now [1622] suiters to goe, then euer hath beene constrained knaues. And it is not vnknowne to most men of vnderstanding, now happy many of those Collumners hath thought themselues that they might be admitted; and yet pay for their passage to goe now to *Virginia*, and I feare mee there goeth too many of those that hath shifted heere till they could no longer; and they will vse that qualitie there till they hazard all. [1622] [*p.* 263.]

To range this Countrey of *New England* in like manner, I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruit conditions, I met many of their silly encounters, and I giue God thankes, without any hurt at all to me, or any with mee. When your West-Countrey men were so wounded and tormented with the Saluages [*p.* 701]: though they had all the Politicke directions that had beene gathered from all the secret informations [that] could be heard of; yet they found little, and returned with nothing. I speak not this out of vaine-glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some who were neuer there may censure me; but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Saluages are, that thus strangely doe murder and betray our Countrymen. But to the purpose. [*p.* 264.] [*pp.* 188, 698, 719.]

THe *Paragon* with thirtie seuen men sent to releeue them, miscarried twice vpon [**237**] our English Coast, whereby they failed of their supplies. It is true, there hath beene taken one thousand [*pp.* 264, 766, 941.]

[1622] Bas[s]es at a draught; and in one night twelue Hogsheads of Herrings: but when they wanted all necessaries both for fishing and sustinance but what they could get with their naked industry, they indured most extreme wants; hauing beene now neere two yeeres without any supply to any purpose, it is a wonder how they should subsist, much lesse so to resist the Saluages, fortifie themselues, plant sixtie acres of Corne, besides their Gardens that were well replenished with many vsuall fruits.

They liued two yeeres without supply.

Westons Plantation. [*pp.* 760, 942.]

BUt in the beginning of Iuly [1622], came in two ships of Master *Westons*; though we much wanted our selues, yet we releeued them what we could: and to requite vs, they destroied our Corne and Fruits then planted, and did what they could to haue done the like to vs. At last they were transported to *Wichaguscusset* at the *Massachusets*, where they abused the Saluages worse then vs. [*p.* 764.]

We hauing neither Trade, nor scarce any thing remaining, God sent in one Master *Iones*, and a ship of *Westons* [that] had beene at *Monahigan* amongst the Fisher-men, that for Beuer skinnes and such Merchandize as wee had, very well refreshed vs, though at deere rates. *Weston* left also his men a small Barke, and much good prouision; and so set saile for *England*. Then wee ioyned with them to trade to the Southward of Cape *Cod*, twice or thrice wee were forced to returne; first by the death of their Gouernor; then the sicknesse of Captaine *Standish*. At last our Gouernor, Master *Bradford*, vndertooke it himselfe to haue found the passage betwixt the Shoules and the Maine. Then *Tusquantum* our Pilot died, so that we returned to the *Massachusets*, where we found the trade spoiled; and nothing but complaints betwixt the Saluages and the English. At *Nawset* we were kindly vsed and had good trade: though we lost our Barge, the Saluages carefully kept both her wracke, and some ten Ho[g]sheads of Corne three moneths; and so we returned some by land, some in the ship.

The death of *Tusquantum*.

Captaine *Standish* being recouered, went to fetch them both, and traded at *Namasket* and *Monomete*, where the

people had the plague, a place much frequented with *Dutch* and *French*. Here the *Sachem* put a man to death for killing his fellow at play; wherein they are so violent, they will play their coats from their backs, and also their wiues, though many miles from them. [1623]

Tusquantum at his death desired the English to pray he might go dwell with the English mens God, for theirs was a good God.

But our prouision decaying, *Standish* is sent to *Mattachist*, where they pretended their wonted loue; yet it plainly appeared they intended to kill him. Escaping thence, wee went to *Monomete*, where we found nothing but bad countenances. Heare one *Wittuwamat* a notable villaine, would boast how many French and English hee had slaine. This Champion presenting a Dagger to the *Sachem Canacum*, he had got from the English, occasioned vs to vnderstand how they had contriued to murder all the English in the Land; but hauing such a faire opportunitie, they would begin heere with vs. Their scornfull vsage made the Captaine so passionate, to appease his anger and choler their intent made many faire excuses for satisfaction. *Scar* a lusty Saluage, alwaies seeming the most to effect vs, bestowed on vs the best presents he had without any recompence, saying; Hee was rich enough to bestow such fauours on his friends: yet had [he] vndertaken to kill the Captaine himselfe, but our vigilencies so preuented the aduantage they expected, we safely returned, little suspecting in him any such treachery.

They contriue to murder all the English.

During this time, a *Dutch* ship was driuen a shore at *Massasowat*, whose King lay very sicke. Now because it is a generall custome then for all their friends to visit them: Master *Winslow*, and Master *Hamden*, with *Habamok* for their guide, were sent with such Cordialls as they had, to salute him. By the way they so oft heard the King was dead, *Habamok* would breake forth in those words.

The sicknesse of King *Massasowat*.

> My louing *Sachem*, my louing *Sachem*, many haue I knowne, but neuer any like thee, nor shall euer see the like amongst the Saluages; for he was no lier, nor bloudy and cruell like other *Indians*; in anger soone reclaimed, he would be ruled by reason, not scorning the aduice of meane men, and gouerned his men better with a few strokes, then others with many: truly louing where he loued, yea he feared wee [**238**] had not a faithfull friend left amongst all his Countrey-men.

Shewing how oft he had restrained their malice, much

[1623] more, with much passion, he spoke to this purpose, till at last we arriued, where we found the *Dutchmen* but newly gone, and the house so full we could hardly get in. By their charmes they distempered vs that were well, much more him that was sicke; women rubbing him to keepe heat in him: but their charmes ended, vnderstanding of vs, though he had lost his sight, his vnderstanding failed not; but taking *Winslow* by the hand, said, Art thou *Winslow*, Oh *Winslow*, I shall neuer see thee againe!

His cure by the English. *Hobamock* telling him what restauratiues they had brought, he desired to taste them. With much adoe they got a little Confexion of many comfortable Conserues into his mouth; as it desolued he swallowed it; then desoluing more of it in water, they scraped his tongue, which was al furred and swolne, and washed his mouth, and then gaue him more of it to eat, and in his drinke, that wrought such an alteration in him in two or three houres, his eies opened to our great contents. With this and such brothes as they there prouided for him, it pleased God he recouered: and thus the manner of his sicknesse and cure caused no small admiration amongst them.

The Kings thankfulnesse. During the time of their stay to see his recouery, they had sent to *New Plimoth* for diuers good things for him; which he tooke so kindly, that he fully reuealed all the former conspiracies against vs, to which he had oft beene moued: and how that all the people of *Powmet*, *Nawset*, *Succonet*, *Mattachist*, *Manamet*, *Augawam*, and *Capawac*, were ioyned to murder vs; therefore as we respected our liues, kill them of *Massachuset* that were the authors; for take away the principals and the plot wil cease.

Thus taking our leaues, and arriuing at our fort, we found our braue liberall friend of *Pa[w]met* drawing *Standish* to their Ambuscados; which being thus discouered, we sent him away, as though he knew nor suspected any thing.

A bad example. Them [*Weston's Englishmen*, *pp.* 760, 762] at the *Massachusets*, some were so vilde they serued the Saluages for victuall: the rest sent vs word the Saluages were so insolent, they would assault them though against their Commission; so fearefull they were to breake their Commission, so much time was spent in consultations, they all were famished, till *Wassapinewat* againe came and told them the day of their execution was at hand.

Then they [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] appointed *Standish* with eight chosen men, vnder colour of Trade, to catch them in their owne trap at *Massachuset*, and acquaint it with the English in the Towne: where arriuing he found none in the Barke, and most of the rest without Armes, or scarce clothes, wandering abroad, all so sencelesly secure, he more then wondered they were not all slaine. With much adoe he got the most of them to their Towne. [1623]

Captaine *Standish* sent to suppresse the Saluages.

The Saluages suspecting their plots discouered, *Pecksnot* a great man, and of as great a spirit, came to *Habamak*, who was then amongst them, saying; Tell *Standish* we know he is come to kill vs, but let him begin when he dare. Not long after many would come to the Fort and whet their Kniues before him, with many brauing speeches. One amongst the rest was by *Wittawamat* bragging he had a Knife, that on the handle had the picture of a womans face; but at home I haue one [that] hath killed both French and English, and that hath a mans face on it; and by and by these two must marrie: but this here, by and by shall see, and by and by eat, but not speake. Also *Pecksnot* being of a greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine he was but a little man; and I though no *Sachem*, yet I am of great strength and courage.

These things *Standish* bare patiently for the present; but the next day seeing he could not get many of them together, but these two Roarers and two more; being in a conuenient roome, and his company about him, *Standish* seased on *Pecksnots* Knife then hanging about his necke, wherewith he slew him, and the rest slew *Wittuwamat* and the other Saluage: but the youth they tooke, who being Brother to *Wittuwamat*, and as villanous as himselfe, was hanged. It is incredible how many wounds they indured, catching at their weapons without any feare or bruit, till the last gasp.

Two desperate Saluages slaine.

Habamack stood by all this time very silent, but all ended, he said, Yesterday *Pecksnot* bragged of his strength and stature, but I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. [**239**]

The Towne he left to the guard of *Westons* people: three Saluages more were slaine; vpon which rumour they all fled from their houses.

The Saluages ouercommed.

The next day, they met with a file of Saluages that let fly their Arrowes, shot for shot, till *Hobamack* shewed

[1623] himselfe, and then they fled. For all this, a Saluage Boy to shew his innocency, came boldly vnto vs and told vs: Had the English Fugitiues [*Weston's men*] but finished the three Canowes they were a making, to haue taken the ship, they would haue done as much to all the English; which was onely the cause they had forborne so long.

But now consulting and considering their estates, those that [chose] went in the Pinnace to *Barty* Iles to get passage for *England*; the rest to *New Plimoth*, where they were kindly entertained. The *Sachem Obtakeest*, and *Powas*, and diuers other [that] were guilty, the three fugitiues in their fury there slew: but not long after so distracted were those poore scattered people, they left their habitations, liuing in swamps; where with cold and infinite diseases they endured much mortalitie, suing for peace, and crying the God of *England* is angry with them. Thus you see where God pleases, as some flourish, others perish.

1623. An extreme drought. [*p.* 942.] Now on all hands they prepare their ground, and about the middest of Aprill [1623], in a faire season they begin to plant till the latter end of May; but so God pleased, that in six weekes after the latter setting there scarce fell any raine; so that the stalke [that] was first set, began to eare ere it came to halfe growth, and the last not like[ly] to yeeld anything at all. Our Beanes also seemed so withered, we iudged all vtterly dead, that now all our hopes were ouerthrowne, and our ioy turned into mourning. And more to our sorrow, we heard of the twice returne of the *Paragon*, that now the third time was sent vs three moneths agoe, but no newes of her: onely the signes of a wracke we saw on the Coast, which wee iudged [to be] her. This caused not [only] euery of vs to enter into a priuate consideration betwixt God and our consciences; but most solemnly to humble our selues before the Lord by fasting and praying, to releeue our deiected spirits by the comforts of his mercy. In the morning when wee assembled all together, the skies were as cleere, and the drought as like to continue as euer; yet our exercise continued eight or nine houres. Before our departure, the skies were all ouer-cast, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, moderate showers, continuing foureteene daies, mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say, whether our withered

[*pp.* 264, 761, 941.]

A wonderfull blessing and signe of God's loue.

Corne, or drooping affections were most quickned and reuiued; such was the bounty and mercy of God. [1623]

Of this the *Indians* by the meanes of *Hobamock* tooke notice, who seeing vs vse this exercise in the midst of the weeke, said; It was but three daies since Sunday, and desired to know the reason: which when hee vnderstood, he and all of them admired the goodnesse of God towards vs, shewing the difference betwixt their coniurations and our praiers, and what stormes and dangers they oft receiue thereby.

To expresse our thankfulnesse, we assembled together another day, as before; and either the next morning, or not long after, came in two ships to supply vs; and all their Passengers well except one, and he presently recouered. For vs, notwithstanding all these wants, there was not a sicke person amongst vs.

The greater ship we returned fraught; the other wee sent to the Southward, to trade vnder the command of Captaine *Altom*. So that God be thanked, we desire nothing but what we will returne Commodities to the value.

Thus all men finde our great God he,
That neuer wanted nature,
To teach his truth, that onely he
Of euery thing is Author.

Forty saile sent to fish.

For this yeere [1623], from *England* is gone about fortie saile of ships, only to fish; and, as I am informed, haue made a farre better voyage then euer.

[p. 933.]

Now some new great obseruers will haue this [to be] an Iland, because I haue writ it is [**240**] the Continent: others report, that the people are so bruit, they haue no religion, wherein surely they are deceiued; for my part, I neuer heard of any Nation in the world which had not a Religion, deare, bowes and arrowes. They beleeue as doe the *Virginians*, of many diuine powers, yet of one aboue all the rest, as the Southerne *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa* [*p.* 321], and that wee now inhabit *Oke* [*p.* 75], but both, their Kings, *Werowance*. The *Massachusets* call their great God *Kiehtan*, and their Kings there abouts *Sachems:* The *Penobscotes*, their greatest power *Tantum*, and their Kings *Sagomos*.

Their Religion.

[p. 939.]

[1623] Those where is this Plantation [*New Plymouth*], say *Kiehtan* made all the other Gods: also one man and one woman, and of them all mankinde, but how they became so dispersed they know not. They say, at first there was no King but *Kiehtan* that dwelleth farre westerly aboue the heauens, whither all good men goe when they die, and haue plentie of all things. The bad men goe thither also and knocke at the doore; but he bids them goe wander in endlesse want and miserie, for they shall not stay there. They neuer saw *Kiehtan*, but they hold it a great charge and dutie, that one age teach another; and to him they make feasts, and cry and sing for plentie and victorie, or any thing [that] is good.

They haue another Power they call *Hobamock*, which wee conceiue the Deuill, and vpon him they call to cure their wounds and diseases: when they are curable he perswades them he sent them, because they haue displeased him; but if they be mortall, then he saith, *Kiehtan* sent them, which makes them neuer call on him in their sicknesse. They say this *Hobamock* appeares to them somtimes like a Man, a Deere, or an Eagle, but most commonly like a Snake; not to all, but only to their *Powahs* to cure diseases, and *Vndeses*, which is one of the chiefe next the King, and so bold in the warres, that they thinke no weapon can kill them: and those are such as coniure in *Virginia*, and cause the people to doe what they list.

Their Gouernment. For their Gouernment: euery *Sachem* is not a King, but their great *Sachems* haue diuers *Sachems* vnder their protection, paying them tribute, and [who] dare make no warres without his knowledge; but euery *Sachem* taketh care for the Widowes, Orphans, the aged and maimed, nor will they take any to first wife, but them in birth equall to themselues (although they haue many inferior Wiues and Concubins that attend on the principall), from whom he neuer parteth, but any of the rest when they list. They inherit by succession, and euery one knowes their owne bounds. To his men, hee giueth them land, also bounded: and what Deere they kill in that circuit, he hath the fore-part; but if in the water, onely the skin. But they account none a man, till hee hath done some notable exploit: the men are most imploied in hunting,

the women in slauery; the younger obey the elders: their names are variable: they haue harlots and honest women; the harlots neuer marrie, or else are widowes. They vse diuorcement, and the King commonly punisheth all offenders himselfe: when a maid is maried, she cutteth her haire, and keepes her head couered till it be growne againe. Their arts, games, musicke, attire, burials, and such like, differ very little from the *Virginians*, onely for their Chronicles they make holes in the ground, as the others set vp great stones. [1623]

Out of the Relations of Master *Edward Winslow.*

NOw I know the common question is, For all those miseries, where is the wealth they haue got, or the Gold or Siluer Mines? To such greedy vnworthy minds I say once againe: The Sea is better then the richest Mine knowne, and of all the fishing ships that went well prouided, there is no complaint of losse nor misery, but rather an admiration of wealth, profit, and health. As for the land were it neuer so good, in two yeeres [1621–1623] so few, of such small experience, liuing without supplies so well, and in health, it was an extraordinary blessing from God. But that with such small meanes they should subsist, and doe so much, to any vnderstanding judgement is a wonder. Notwithstanding, the vaine expectation of present gaine in some; ambition in others, that to be great would haue all else slaues; and the carelesnesse in prouiding supplies, hath caused those defailements in all those Plantations: and how euer some bad conditions will extoll the [**241**] actions of any Nation but their owne; yet if we may giue credit to the *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *French* writings, they indured as many miseries, and yet not in twenty yeeres effected so much, nay scarce in fortie. An answer to Obiections. [*pp.* 926, 942.]

Thus you may see plainly the yeerely successe from *New England* by *Virginia*, which hath beene so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me; which either to see [*p.* 265.]

[1622-4] perish, or but bleed; Pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to haue beene sufficiently able to fore-see their miseries, and had neither power nor meanes to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I call them my children; for they haue beene my Wife, my Hawks, Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall, my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand [is] to my right. And notwithstanding, all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not an Englishman remaining (as God be thanked notwithstanding the massacre there are some thousands), I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at first; not that I haue any secret encouragement (I protest) more then lamentable experience: for all their discoueries I haue yet heard of, are but Pigs of my owne Sow, nor more strange to me, then to heare one tell me hee hath gone from *Billingsgate* and discouered *Grauesend*, *Tilbury*, *Quinborow*, *Lee*, and *Margit*, which to those [that] did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might bee made some rare secrets and great Countries vnknowne; except some few Relations of Master *Dirmer*

[By "some few Relations," is intended *T. Dermer*'s letter from *Virginia*, dated 27 Dec. 1619, to Rev. *S. Purchas*; which will be found in his *Pilgrims*, iv. *p.* 1778, *Ed.* 1625.]

[*pp.* 217, 258, 265, 542, 732, 747, 770.]

In *England*, some are held great trauellers that haue seene *Venice*, and *Rome*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Siuill*, *Algere*, *Prague*, or *Ragonsa*, *Constantinople*, or *Ierusalem*, and the Piramides of *Egypt*; that thinke it nothing to goe to *Summer Iles*, or *Virginia*, which is as far as any of them; and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney: as for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to goe thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and oft hath preserued.

The ordinary voyage to goe to *Virginia* or *New-England*.

[*p.* 266.]

What here I haue writ by Relation, if it be not right I humbly intreat your pardons; but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue beene actors, or sharers in those voyages. In some particulars they might deceiue mee, but in the substance they could not: for few could tell me anything, except where they fished. But seeing all those [that] haue liued there, doe confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies with these new begun examples of Plantation,

will moue both Citie and Country, freely to aduenture with me more then promises. [1622-4]

But because some Fortune-tellers say, I am vnfortunate; had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad an account of their actions; and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those obiecters, that thinke it strange, if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, rest so long without imploiment, nor haue no more reward nor preferment. To which I say; The obiections against me.

I thinke it more strange they should tax me, before they haue tried as much as I haue, both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Affrica*, as *Europe* and *America*; where my Commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed [to] bee importunate, [n]or could I euer learne to beg. What there I got, I haue spent; yet in *Virginia* I staied, till I left fiue hundred behinde me better prouided then euer I was; from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Summer Iles*. My answer. [*p.* 243.]

This Virgins Sister, now called *New England*, at my humble sute, by our most gracious Prince *Charles*, hath beene neere as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which, although I neuer got shilling but it cost mee a pound, yet I would thinke my selfe happy could I see their prosperities. [*p.* 267.] [*p.* 232.]

But if it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what thinke you I vndertooke when nothing was knowne but that there was a vast land? I [242] neuer had power and meanes to doe any thing, though more hath beene spent in formall delaies then would haue done the businesse; but in such a penurious and miserable manner, as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuersitie: where had men beene as forward to aduenture their purses, and performe the conditions they promised mee, as to crop the fruits of my labours, thousands ere this had beene bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of desire and the bridle of reason, I am neere ridden to death in a ring of despaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I intreat you [to] ease me, and those that thinke I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause and know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warn- Considerations.

[1622-4] ing enough not to be so forward againe at euery motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carie newes; for now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first would not aduenture a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas: which makes me remember and say with Master *Hackluit*; Oh incredulitie the wit of fooles, that slouingly doe spit at all things faire, a sluggards Cradle, a Cowards Castle, how easie it is to be an Infidell. But to the matter.

By this all men may perceiue, the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or six moneths, the plentie of fish is most certainly approued; and it is certaine, from *Cannada* and *New England*, within these six yeeres [1615–1620] hath come neere twenty thousand Beuer skinnes. Now had each of these ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruits, Plants, and Seeds, as I proiected; by this time their increase might haue beene sufficient for more then one thousand men: But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that [*pp.* 244, 268.] it is hard to effect any publike good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order; vnlesse both honesty, as well as authoritie and money, assist experience. But your home-bred ingrossing Proiectors will at last finde, there is a great difference betwixt saying and doing, or those that thinks their directions can be as soone and easily performed, as they can conceit them; or that their conceits are the fittest things to bee put in practise, or [that] their countenances maintaine Plantations.

But to conclude, the fishing will goe forward whether you plant it or no; whereby a Colony may be then transported with no great charge, that in short time might prouide such fraughts, to buy on vs their dwelling, as I would hope no ship should goe or come emptie from *New England*.

The charge. The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Kniues, Irish-rugges, course cloth, Beads, Glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Saluages, besides our owne necessarie prouisions; whose endeuours would quickly defray all this charge, and the Saluages did [*p.* 732.] intreat me to inhabit where I would.

Now all those ships till these last two yeeres [*i.e.*, till 1621], haue beene fishing within a square of two or three leagues, and scarce any one yet will goe any further in the Port they fish in, where questionlesse fiue hundred may haue their fraught as well as elsewhere, and be in the market ere others can haue the fish in their ships: because *New Englands* fishing begins in February, in *Newfoundland* not till the midst of May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and *Summer Iles*, whose empty ships may take in their fraughts there; and would be also in time of need a good friend to the Inhabitants of *Newfoundland*. [1615-23]

The order of the westerne men.

The returnes made by the Westerne men, are commonly diuided in three parts; one for the owner of the ship; another for the Master and his Company; the third for the victualers: which course being still permitted, will be no hinderance to the Plantation as yet goe there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yeerely for little or nothing, which otherwise wil cost many hundreds of pounds. [*p.* 801.]

The gaines.

If a ship can gaine twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred; nay three hundred for one hundred in seuen or ten moneths; as you see they haue done, spending twice so much time in comming and going as in staying there: were I there planted, seeing the variety of the fishings serue the most part of the yeere, and with a little labour we might make all the Salt we need vse, as is formerly said, and can [**243**] conceiue no reason to distrust of good successe by Gods assistance; besides for the building of ships, no place hath more conuenient Harbours, ebbe nor floud, nor better timber; and no Commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood. [*pp.* 245, 269.]

Master Dee *his opinion for the building of ships.*

The effects of shipping.

MAster *Dee* recordeth in his Brittish Monarchy, that King *Edgar* had a Nauy of foure thousand saile, with which he yeerely made his progresse, about this famous Monarchy of *Great Britaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon hee proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleet of sixty Saile, he called a little Nauy

[1620-4] Royall: imitating that admired *Pericles* Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea.

At this none need wonder, for who knowes not her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men, notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*; yet all the world by Sea and Land, both feared or loued, and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successor, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his Kingdomes consideration.

That if the tenths of the earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea. The Kings high waies are common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing. So *Englands* Coasts are free to passe but not to fish, but by his Maiesties Prerogatiue.

The Popes order for the East and West Indies. [*pp.* 246,270.]

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order, for the East and West Indies but by his permission, or at their perils; if all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her owne shores as strangers doe, that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties. any thing to speake of, whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their Teritories: which small tribute would maintaine this little Nauy Royall, and not cost his Maiesty a peny, and yet maintaine peace with all Forrainers, and allow them more courtesie then any Nation in the world affords to *England*.

It were ashame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishing as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndressed Cloth, notwithstanding all their warres and troublesome disorders.

How to get money to build this little Nauy.

To get money to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the one hundreth penny of his rents, and the fiue hundreth penny of his goods; each seruant that taketh forty shillings wages, foure pence; and euery forrainer of seuen yeeres of age foure pence, for seuen yeeres; not any

of these but they will spend three times so much in pride, wantonnesse, or some superfluitie. And doe any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not bee humble su[i]ters to his Maiesty to doe this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but the one halfe of this (or some such other course as I haue pro[po]unded to diuers of the Companies) free from any constraint, tax, lottery, or imposition; so it may be as honestly and truly imploied, as it is proiected, the poorest Mechanicke in this Kingdom would gaine by it. [1620-4]

THen you might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, fiue times cheaper then you can doe here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne Land, to the aduancement of Gods glory, his Church and Gospel; and the strengthning and releefe of a great part of Christendome without hurt to any; to the terror of Pirats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing [of] Merchants, and so much increase of Nauigation, to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any Nations in the world: besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subiects, and would cause thousands yet vnborne to blesse the time, and all them that first put it in practise. [**244**]

[*p.* 247.]

[*p.* 271.]

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath beene to priuat ends, or so weakely vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulity, that strangers may possesse it whilest we contend for *New-Englands* goods, but not *Englands* good; I haue presented it [*i.e.*, New-Englands *trials*] as I haue said, to the Prince and Nobility, the Gentry and Commonalty, hoping at last it will moue the whole land to know it and consider of it; since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the foresaid aduantages: were this Country planted, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauy Royall, both with honour, profit and content, and inhabit as good a Country as any in the world within that paralell: which with my life and what I haue, I will endeuour to effect, if God please and you permit.

Contention for *New-Englands* goods, not her good.

[*pp.* 247, 266. 748. 941.]

But no man will goe from hence to haue lesse freedome there then here, nor aduenture all they haue to prepare the way for them will scarce thanke them for it; and it is too

[1620-4] well knowne there haue beene so many vndertakers of Patents, and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performance; in the *Interim*, you see the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in *Virginia*, or any of his Maiesties subiects, should not haue as free liberty as they. To conclude, were it not for Master *Cherley* and a few priuate aduenturers with them, what haue we there, for all these inducements?

The necessity of martiall power.

As for them whom pride or couetousnesse lulleth asleepe in a Cradle of slothfull carelesnesse, would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue beene brought to confusion, or but remember the late lamentable experiences of *Constantinople*, and how many Cities, Townes and Prouinces in the faire rich Kingdoms of *Hungaria*, *Transiluania*, *Wallachia* and *Moldauia*, and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others haue in one day lost goods, liues and honours, or sold for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children and seruants slaine, or wandring they knew not [*p.* 272.] whither, dying or liuing in all extremities of extreme miseries and calamities: surely they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and liberty at home, or but aduenture their persons abroad to preuent the conclusions of a conquering Foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plenty most armed with ignorance and security.

Though the true condition of warre is onely to suppresse the proud and defend the innocent, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus*, Prince of those Countries, against them whom vnder the colour of iustice and piety, to maintaine their superfluity of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice; and vndoe them, or keepe them from ability to doe any thing, that would not admire and adore their honours, fortunes, couetousnesse, falshood, bribery, cruelty, extortion, and ingratitude: which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all manner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesse.

Iohn Smith *writ this with his owne hand.*



[*The Observations &c. of Captaine* Richard Whitbourne.]

HEre follow certaine notes and obseruations of Captaine *Charles* [*or rather Richard*] *Whitbourne* concerning *New-found land*: which although euery master trained vp in fishing, can make their proportions of necessaries according to their custome, yet it is not much amisse here to insert them, that euery one which desires the good of those actions [may] know them also. [1622]

Besides in his Booke intituled, *A discouery of New-found land, and the commodities thereof*, you shall finde many excellent good aduertisements for a Plantation; and how that most yeeres this Coast hath beene frequented with 250. saile of his Maiesties subiects, which supposing but 60. tunnes a peece, one with another, they amount to 15000. tunnes; and allowing 25. men and boies to euery Barke, they will make 5000. persons, whose labours returne yeerely to about 135000. pound sterling: besides the great numbers of Brewers, Bakers, Coupers, Ship-Carpenters, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Hooke-makers, and the most of all other mec[h]anicall trades in *England*. [**245**]

The charge of setting forth a ship of 100. tuns with 40. persons, both to make a fishing voyage, and increase the Plantation.

		l.	s.	d.
[1622]	IN primis, 10000. [or rather 11000] *weight of Bisket at* 15. *s. a* 100. *weight* [*i.e.*, 112lbs.]	82.	10.	
26	*Tun of Beere and Sider at* 53. *s.* 4. *d. a Tun.*	69.	7.	
2	*Hogsheads of English Beefe.*	10.		
2	*Hogsheads of Irish Beefe.*	5.		
10	*Fat Hogs salted with Salt, and Caske.*	10.	10.	
30	*Bushels of Pease.*	6.		
2	*Ferkins of Butter.*	3.		
200	*Waight* [= 224lbs.] *of Cheese.*	2.	10.	
1	*Bushell of Mustard-seed.*		6.	
1	*Hogshead of Vinegar.*	1.	5.	
	Wood to dresse meat withall.	1.		
1	*Great Copper Kettle.*	2.		
2	*Small Kettles.*	2.		
2	*Frying-Pans.*		3.	4.
	Platters, Ladles and Cans.	1.		
	a paire of Bellowes for the Cooke.		2.	6.
	Taps, Boriers and Funnels.		2.	
	Locks for the Bread roomes.		2.	6.
100	*weight* [= 112lbs.] *of Candles.*	2.	10.	
130	*quarters of Salt at* 2. *s. the Bushell*	104.		
	Mats and dinnage to lie vnder it.	2.	10.	
	Salt Shouels.		10.	
	Particulars for the 40. *persons to keepe* 8. *fishing boats at Sea, with* 3. *men in euery boat, imploies* 24.; *and* 500. *foot of Elme boords of an inch thicke,* 8. *s. each one.*	2.		
2000	*Nailes for the* 8. *Boats, at* 13. *s.* 4*d. a* 1000.	1.	6.	8.
4000	*Nailes at* 6. *s.* 8. *d.* [*a*] 1000.	1.	6.	8.
2000	*Nailes at* 5. *d.* [*a*] 100.		8.	
500	*weight* [= 560lbs.] *of pitch at* 8. *s.* 100.	2.		
2000	*of good orlop nailes.*	2.	5.	
	More for other small necessaries.	3.		

[This is not an accurate reprint of *R. Whitbourne's* specification.]

	l.	s.	d.	[1622]
A barrell of Tar.		10.		
200 *weight* [=224lbs.] *of black Ocome.*	1.			
Thrums for pitch Maps.		1.	6.	
Bolls, Buckets and Pumps.	1.			
2 *brazen Crocks.*	2.			
Canuas to make Boat sailes and small ropes, at 25. *s. for each saile,*	12.	10.		
10 *rode Ropes which containe* 600. *weight* [=672lbs.] *at* 30. *s. the* 100.	10.			
12 *dozen of fishing lines.*	6.			
24 *dozen of fishing hookes.*	2.			
for Squid line.		3.		
For Pots and liuer maunds.		18.		
Ironworks for the boats ruthers.	2.			
10 *Kipnet Irons*		10.		
Twine to make kipnets and gagging hooks.		6.		
10 *good Nets at* 26. *s. a net.*	13.			
2 *Saynes, a great and a lesse.*	12.			
200 *weight* [=224lbs.] *of Sow-lead.*	1.			
2 *couple of ropes for the Saynes.*	1.			
Dry-fats to keepe them in.		6.		
Twine for store.		5.		
Flaskets and bread Baskets.		15.		
For haire cloth.	10.			
3. *Tuns of vinegar caske, for water.*	1.	6.	8.	
1 *douzen of Deale Bourds.*		10.		
2 *Barrels of Oatmeale.*	1.	6.		
100 *weight* [=112 lbs.] *of Spikes.*	2.	5.		
2 *good Axes,* 4. *hand Hatchets,* 4 *Drawers,* 2. *drawing Irons.*		16.		
3 *yards of wollen cloth for cuffs.*		10.		
8 *yards of good Canuasse.*		10.		
A Grind-stone or two.		6.		
2000 *of poore Iohn to spend* [*i.e.* in eating] *in going*	6.	10.		
1 *Hogshead of Aquauitæ.*	4.			
4 *arme Sawes,* 4. *Handsawes,* 4. *thwart Sawes,* 3. *Augers,* 2. *Crowes of Iron,* 3. *Sledges,* 4. *shod Shouels,* 2. *Picaxes,* 4. *Matocks, and* 4. *Hammers.*	5.			
The totall summe is	420.	11.	0.	

[1622] All these prouisions the Master or Purser is to be accountable what is spent, and what is left with those which shall continue there to plant: and of the 40. thus prouided for the voyage, ten may well be spared to leaue behind them, with 500. weight of Bisket, 5. hogsheads of Sider or beere, halfe a hogshead of Beefe, 4 sides of dry Bakon, 4. bushell of Pease, halfe a ferkin of Butter, halfe 100. weight of Cheese, a pecke of Mustard-seed, a barrell of Vinegar, 12. pound of Candles, 2. pecks of Oatmeale, halfe a hogshead of Aquauitæ, 2. copper Kettles, 1. brasse Crock, 1. Frying-pan, a Grindstone, and all the Hatchets, Wood-hooks, Sawes, Augers, &c. and all other iron tooles, with the 8. Boats and their implements, [**246**] and spare salt; and what else they vse not in a readinesse from yeere to yeere, and in the meane time serued them to helpe to build their houses, cleanse land, and further their fishing whilst the ships are wanting [*absent*].

By his estimation and calculation, these 8. Boats with 22 [*or rather* 24]. men in a Summer doe vsually kill 25000. fish for euery Boat, which may amount to 200000. allowing 120. fishes to the 100: sometimes they haue taken aboue 35000. for a Boat, so that they load not onely their owne ship, but prouide great quantities for Sacks or other spare ships, which come thither onely to buy the ouerplus. If such ships come not, they giue ouer taking any more, when sometimes there hath beene great abundance; because there is no fit houses to lay them in till another yeere.

[*Sacks*, the English name for victualling &c., ships trafficking for cod with the fishers off Newfound-land, as the Dutch *Jagers* did for herrings, off the English coast.]

Now most of those Sacks goeth empty thither, which might as well transport mens prouision and cattle at an casie rate as nothing, either to *New-England* or *New-found land*: but either to transport them for nothing, or pay any great matter for their liberty to fish, will hardly effect so much as freedome as yet; nor can this be put in practice as before I said, till there be a power there well planted and setled to entertaine and defend them, assist and releeue them as occasion shall require: otherwaies those small diuisions will effect little, but such miserable conclusions as both the French and we too long haue tried to our costs.

Now commonly 200000. fish will load a ship of 100. tunnes in *New-found land*, but halfe so many will neere doe it in *New England*: which carried to *Toloune* or *Merselus*

[*Marseilles*], where the custome [*import duty*] is small, and the Kintall lesse then 90. English pounds weight, and the prise when least, 12. shillings the Kintall, which at that rate amounts to 1320. *l.* starling: and the ship may either there be discharged, or imployed as hath beene said to refraught for *England*; so that the next yeere she may be ready to goe her fishing voyage againe, at a farre cheaper rate then before. [1622–4] [*pp.*202,716.]

To this adde but 12. tuns of traine oile, which deliuered in *New-found land*, is 10. *l.* the tun, makes 120. *l.*

Then it is hard if there be not 10000. of Cor-fish, which also sold there at 5. *l.* the 1000. makes 50. *l.*: which brought to *England*, in some places yeelds neere halfe so much more; but if at *Merselus* it be sold for 16. *s.* the Kentall, as commonly it is, and much dearer, it amounts to 1760. *l.*

And if the Boats follow the fishing till the 15. of October, they may take 80000. more, which with their traine in *New-found land* at 4. *l.* the 1000. will amount to 320. *l.*: which added to 1320. *l.* with 120. *l.* for Oile, and 10000. of Corfish 50. *l.* and the ouerplus at *Merselus*, which will be 440. *l.* make the totall 2250. *l.*; which diuided in three parts according to their custome, the Victualer hath for the former particulars (amounting to 420. *l.*), 751. *l.*, so all the charge defraied, hee gaines 331. *l.* 11. *s.*; then for the fraught of the ship there is 751. *l.*; and so much for the Master and his company; which comparing with the voiages [that] hath beene made to *New-England*, you may easily finde which is the better, though both bee good. [*pp.*244,268, 801.]

The facility of the fishing lately obserued.

But now experience hath taught them at *New-Plimoth*, that in Aprill there is a fish much like a Herring that comes vp into the small Brookes to spawne, and where the water is not knee deepe, they will presse vp through your hands, yea though you beat at them with Cudgels, and in such abundance as is incredible: which they take with that facility, they manure their land with them when they haue occasion. After those, the Cod also presseth in such plenty, euen into the very Harbours, they haue caught some in their armes, and hooke them so fast [that], three men oft loadeth a Boat of two tuns in two houres, where before they vsed most[ly] to fish in deepe water. [247]

1624.

The present estate of New-Plimoth.

[1624]
The present estate of the plantation at *New-Plimoth.*

AT *New-Plimoth* there is [1624] about 180 persons, some cattell and goats, but many swine and poultry; 32 dwelling houses, whereof 7 were burnt the last winter [1623], and the value of fiue hundred pounds in other goods; the Towne is impailed about halfe a mile [in] compasse. In the towne vpon a high Mount they haue a Fort well built with wood, lome, and stone, where is planted their Ordnance: Also a faire Watch-tower, partly framed, for the Sentinell. The place it seemes is healthfull, for in these last three yeeres [1621–4], notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, there hath not one died of the first planters. They haue made a saltworke, and with that salt preserue the fish they take; and this yeare [1624] hath fraughted a ship of 180. tunnes.

The Gouernour is one Master *William Bradford*; their Captaine *Miles Standish*, a bred Souldier in *Holland*; the chiefe men for their assistance is Master *Isaak Alderton*, and diuers others as occasion serueth; their Preachers are Master *William Bruster* and Master *Iohn Layford.*

Their order of gouernment.

The most of them liue together as one family or household, yet euery man followeth his trade and profession both by sea and land, and all for a generall stocke: out of which they haue all their maintenance, vntill there be a diuident betwixt the Planters and the Aduenturers.

Those Planters are not seruants to the Aduenturers here, but haue onely councells of directions from them, but no iniunctions or command; and all the masters of families are partners in land or whatsoeuer, setting their labours

against the stocke, till certaine yeeres be expired for the diuision: they haue young men and boies for their Apprentises and seruants, and some of them speciall families, as Ship-carpenters, Salt-makers, Fish-masters, yet as seruants vpon great wages. [1624]

The Aduenturers which raised the stocke to begin and supply this Plantation were about 70.: some Gentlemen, some Merchants, some handy-crafts men, some aduenturing great summes, some small, as their estates and affection serued. The generall stocke already imploied is about 7000. *l.*; by reason of which charge and many crosses, many of them would aduenture no more: but others that knowes so great a designe cannot bee effected without both charge, losse and crosses, are resolued to goe forward with it to their powers; which deserue no small commendations and encouragement. These [*the Adventurers generally*] dwell most[ly] about *London*. They are not a corporation, but [are] knit together by a voluntary combination in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to doe good and to plant Religion; they haue a President and Treasurer, euery yeere newly chosen by the most voices, who ordereth the affaires of their Courts and meetings, and with the assent of the most of them, vndertaketh all ordinary businesses: but in more weighty affaires, the assent of the whole Company is required. [p. 943.]

There hath beene a fishing this yeere [1624] vpon the Coast about 50. English ships: and by Cape *Anne*, there is a Plantation a beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of *New-Plimoth*, who also by them haue set vp a fishing worke: some talke there is some other pretended Plantations, all whose good proceedings the eternal God protect and preserue. [pp. 892, 946.]

And these haue beene the true proceedings and accidents in those Plantations.

Now to make a particular relation of all the acts and orders in the Courts belonging vnto them, of the anihilating old Patents and procuring new; with the charge, paines and arguments, the reasons

[1624] of such changes, all the treaties, consultations, orations, and dissentions about the sharing and diuiding those large territories, confirming of Counsailers, electing all sorts of Officers, directions, Letters of aduice, and their answers, disputations about the Magazines and Impositions, su[i]ters for Patents, positions for Freedomes, and confirmations with complaints of iniuries here, and also the mutinies, examinations, arraignements, executions, and the cause of the so oft reuolt of the Saluages at large, as many [**248**] would haue had, and it may be some doe expect it would make more quarrels then any of them would willingly answer, and such a volume as would tire any wise man but to read the contents.

For my owne part I rather feare the vnpartiall Reader will thinke this rather more tedious then necessary: but he that would be a practitioner in those affaires, I hope will allow them not only needfull but expedient: but how euer, if you please to beare with those errors I haue committed, if God please I liue, my care and paines shall endeuour to be thankfull: if I die, accept my good will.

[*pp.* 248, 272.] If any desire to be further satisfied, what defect is found in this, they shall finde supplied in me; that thus freely haue throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stirre vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Columbus* could giue the Spaniards any such certainties for his designe, when Queene *Isabel* of *Spaine* set him forth with 15. saile: and though I promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike Hollanders let vs imitate but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasury gotten by fishing; and *New-England* hath yeelded already [*up to* 1624] by generall computation one hundred thousand pounds at the least. Therefore honourable and worthy Country men, let not the meannesse of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the Mines of *Guiana* or *Potassie*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility. *I. S.*

FINIS.

AN

ACCIDENCE

OR

The Path-way to EXPERIENCE.

Necessary for all Young Sea-men, or those that are desirous to goe to Sea, briefly shewing the Phrases, Offices, and Words of Command, Belonging to the Building, Ridging, and Sayling, a Man of Warre; And how to manage a Fight at Sea.

Together with the Charge and Duty of *every Officer, and their Shares*:

Also the Names, VVeight, Charge, Shot, and *Powder, of all sorts of great Ordnance. With the vse of the Petty Tally.*

Written by Captaine IOHN SMITH sometimes Governour of *Virginia*, and Admirall of New ENGLAND.

LONDON:
Printed for *Jonas Man*, and *Benjamin Fisher*, and are to be sold at the signe of the *Talbot*, in *Aldersgate* streete. 1626.

[This Tract was a new departure in our Literature, being the first printed book on seamanship, naval gunnery, and of nautical terms; and was besides written by an Army Captain.

It was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall:

23° Octobris 1626.

Jonas Man
Beniamin ffisher Entred for their Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor WORRALL and both the wardens A booke Called *An Accidence or pathwaye to experience necessarye for all young sea men &c.* by Captaine JOHN SMITH. vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 169, 1877.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see *p.* cxxxi.]

TO ALL THE RIGHT HONourable and most Generous Lords in *England*, and Others: Especially of his Majesties Priuy Councell, and Councell of Warre.

RIGHT HONORABLE:

In regard of the Present occasion, for the [1626] Arte of Navigation, and many young Gentlemen and Valiant spirits of all sorts, do desire to try their Fortunes at sea: I haue beene perswaded [*pp.* 809, 970] to Print this discourse, being a subject I never see writ before. Not as an instruction to Marriners nor Sailors, whom I intreate rather amend it, then condemne it, confessing it might be a taske for a most excellent Sea-man; But as an intraduction for such as wants experience, and are desirous to learne what belongs to a Seaman. For the advansing of that incomparable faculty, seeing you are in place, both of power and Authoritie; I most humblie present it to Your Honors Considerations. No more but sacring all my best abilities to the exquisite Iudgement of *your* renowned Vertues, I ever rest

Your Worships ever most humbly deuoted,

IOHN SMITH.

TO THE READER; AND ALL

Generous and Noble Adventurers by Sea; and Well-Wishers to Nauigation.

Especially the Masters, Wardens, and Assistance of the TRINITY-HOUSE.

Worthy Readers:

[1626] *HOW ever your perfections may censure my imperfections, I know not: my greatest error in this is but a desire to do good; which disease hath ever haunted mee since my child-hood; and all the miseries and ingratitudes I haue indured, cannot yet diuert me from that resolution.*

As both Europe, Asia, Affrica *and* America *can partly witnesse, if all their extremities hath taught me any thing, I haue not kept it for my owne particuler. I know well I am blamed for not concealing that, that time and occasion hath taught mee to reueale; as at large you may read in the life of* Sigismundus Bathor *Prince of* Transiluania, *writ by his Secretary* Francisco Fernezsa, *New* Englands *Trialls, With the Generall History of* Virginia, *New* England, *and the Summer Isles.*

That the most of those faire plantations did spring from the fruites of my aduenters and discoueries is euident, although their returnes as yet doth not answere the worlds expectation, nor my desire: yet how they haue proceeded euery yeare since their first originall to this present; by the Maps therein, you may plainly see the Descriptions of the Countries; by the Story, what they are, what good they might be to this Kingdome, how they haue bin vsed and abused, how the defects might be amended, the Planters made happy, God and the King well pleased and serued, and all the Honorable and worthy Aduenturers contented: whatsoeuer malice or ignorance can feigne to the contrary.

For this small Pamphlet, if I find you kindly and friendly accept it, I meane ere long, more largely to explaine the particulers: So I rest,

To Christ and my Country a true Souldier,
and faithfull Servant,

John Smith.



AN ACCIDENCE FOR YOUNG SEA-MEN:

OR

Their Path-way to Experience.

THE *Captaines* charge is to commaund all, and tell the Maister to what Port he will go, or to what height [*latitude*]. In a fight he is to giue direction for the managing thereof, and the Maister is to see to the cunning [of] the Ship, and trimming [**2**] the sailes. [1626]

The Captains charge.

The *Maister* and his *Mate* is to direct the course, commaund all the Saylors, for steering, trimming, and sayling the Ship: his Mates are onely his Seconds, allowed sometimes for the two Midships men, that ought to take charge of the first prize.

The Maister and his Mates.

The *Pilot* when they make land, doth take the charge of the Ship till he bring her to Harbour.

The Pilot.

The *Cape-merchant* and *Purser* hath the charge of all the Caragasoune or Merchandize, and the *Purser* doth keepe an Account of all that is receiued and deliuered: but a Man of Warre hath onely a *Purser*.

The Cape-merchant and Purser.

The Maister *Gunner* hath the charge of the Ordinances, Shot, Powder, Match, Ladles, Spunges, Cartrages, Armes, and Fire-workes; and the rest euery one to receiue his charge from him according to directions, and to giue an account of his store. [**3**]

The Gunner with his Mate, and quarter Gunner.

The *Carpenter* and his *Mate* is to haue the Nayles, Clinches, roue and clinch-nailes, spikes, plates, rudder-

The Carpenter and his Mate.

[1626] irons called pintels and gudgions, pumpe-nailes, skupper-nailes, and leather, sawes, files, hatchets, and such like: and [be] euer ready for calking, breaming, stopping leakes, fishing or spliceing the Masts or Yards; as occasion requireth, and to giue an account of his store.

The Bote-swaine and his Mate. The *Boteswaine* is to haue the charge of all the Cordage, tackling, sailes, fids, and marling spikes, needles, twine, and saile-cloth, and rigging [of] the shippe: his Mate the command of the long boate, for the setting forth of Anchors, waying and fetching home an Anchor, warping, towing, and moreing, and to giue an account of his store.

The Chyrur-gion and his Mate. The *Chirurgion* is exempted from all duty but to attend the sicke, and cure the wounded: and good care would be [4] had, [that] he haue a certificate from the *Barber-surgions* Hall of his sufficiency; and also that his Chest bee well furnished both for *Physicke*, and *Chyurgery*, and so neere as may be proper for that clime you goe for, which neglect hath beene the losse of many a mans life.

The Marshall. The *Marshall* is to punish offendors, and to see *Iustice* executed according to directions, as ducking at Yards arme, hawling vnder the Keele, bound to the Capsterne or maine Mast with a basket of shot about his necke, setting in the bilbowes, and to pay the Cobty or the Morryoune. But the Boyes, the *Boteswaine* is to see euery Munday at the chist to say their Compasse; which done, they are to haue a quarter can [? *of beer*], and a basket of bread.

The Corporall. The *Corporall* is to see the setting and releeuing the watch: and see all the souldiers and saylors keepe their Armes cleane, neate and yare; and teach them their vse. [5]

The Steward and his Mate. The *Steward* is to deliuer out the victuall, according to the Captaines directions; and messe them 4, 5, or 6, a there is occasion.

The quarter Maisters. The *quarter Maisters* hath the charge of the hold for stowage, rommageing, and trimming the shippe; and of their squadrons for their Watch. A Sayne, a Fisgigg, a Harping iron, Fish-hookes, for Porgos, Bonetos, or Dorados, &c. and rayling lines for Mackerell.

The Cowper and his Mate. The *Cowper* is to looke to the caske, hoopes and twigges, to staue or repaire the buckets, Baricoes, Cans, steepetubs, runlets, hogsheads, pipes, buts, &c. for wine, beere, syder, beuerage, fresh water, or any liquor.

[1626]

The *Coxswaine* is to haue a choyce gang to attend the Skiffe, to go to and againe as occasion commandeth. The Coxe-swaine and his Mate.

The *Cooke* is to dresse and deliuer out the Victuall. He hath his store of quarter cans, small cannes, platters, spoones, lanthornes, &c. and is to giue [6] his account of the remainder. The Cooke and his Mate.

The *Swabber* is to wash and keepe cleane the ship and maps. The Swabber.

The *Lyer* is to holde his place but for a weeke; and hee that is first taken with a lye, euery Monday is so proclaimed at the maine Mast by a generall cry, *A lyer, a lyer, a lyer.* He is vnder the *Swabber*, and onely to keepe cleane the beake head and chaines. The Lyer.

The *Saylers* are the antient men for hoysing the sailes, getting the tackes aboord, hawling the Bow-lines, and steering the ship. The Saylers.

The *Younkers* are the yong men called *Fore-mast men*, to take in the Topsayles, or Top and yeard; Furle, and Sling the maine Saile; Bousing or Trysing; and take their turne at Helme. The Yonkers.

The *Lieutenant* is to associate[with] the Captaine, and in his absence to execute his place. He is to see the Marshall and Corporall doe their duties, and assist them in instructing the Souldiers: and [7] in a fight the Forecastle is his place, to make good; as the Captaine doth the halfe decke; and the quarter Maisters the midships. But in the *States* men of Warre he is allowed as necessary as a Lieuetenant on shore. The Lieuet-enant.

When you set sayle and put to sea, the Captaine is to call vp the company; and the one halfe is to goe to the Starreboord, the other to the Larboord, as they are chosen: the Maister chusing first one, then his Mate another, and so forward till they bee diuided in two parts. Then each man is to chuse his Mate, Consort, or Comrado. Then diuide them into squadrons according to your numbers and burthen of your ship; but care would be had, that there be not two *Comorados* vpon one watch, because they may haue the more roome in the Cabons to rest. How to diuide the Company.

To giue a true *Arithmeticall* and *Geometricall* proportion

[1626] for the building of ships; were they all built after one [**8**] mould, as also of their Yeards, Masts, Cables, Cordage and Sayles were all the stuffe of like goodnesse, a methodicall rule might bee Proiected: but it would bee too curious for this Discourse, and as much too troublesome either for the Reader or Author; but the principall names of the timbers about the building of a ship, according to his vnderstanding followeth, and how, being framed, they are fixed.

The Principall names of the timbers about the building a ship.

First lay the Keele, the Stemme, and Starne in a dry docke, or vppon the stockes, and binde them with good knees; then lay all the Flore timbers, and cut your Limber holes aboue the keele, to bring the water to the well for the pumpe. Next your Nauell timbers, and bind them all with sixe foote Skarfe at the least. The Garbell strake is the outside plancke next the keele. Be sure you haue a good sufficient Kelson: and then plancke your outside and inside vp, with your Top timbers; but the [**9**] lengths, breadthes, depthes, rakes, and burdens are so variable and different that nothing but experience can possibly teach it.

Notes of a Couenant betweene the Carpenter and the Owner.

A Shippe of 400. Tunnes requires a planke of foure inches; 300. Tunnes, three inch; small Ships, two inch: but none lesse. For clamps, middle bands and sleepers, they be all of 6. inch planke for binding within. The rest for the sparring vp of the workes of square 3. inch planke.

Lay the beames of the Orlope, if she be 400. Tunnes at ten foote deepe in howle, and all the beames to be bound with two knees at each ende, and a stardard knee at euery beames end vpon the Orlope: all the Orlope to be layd with square three inch plancke, and all the planckes to be treenailed to the beames.

Sixe foote would bee betweene the beames of the Decke and Orlope, and ten ports on each side vpon the lower Orlope: all the binding betweene them [**10**] should be with three inch, or two inch plancke, and the vpper Decke should be layd with so many beames as are fitting with knees to bind them; laying that Decke with spruce deale of 30. foot long, the sap cut off, and two inches thicke, for it is better then any other.

Then for the *Captaines* Cabben or great Cabben, the stearage, the halfe Decke, the round house, the Fore-

castle, and to binde an ende with a Capsterne and all things fitting for the Sea (the *Smiths* worke, the caruing, ioyning, and painting excepted) are the principall things I remember to be obserued. [1626]

For a *Charter-party* betwixt the *Merchant*, the *Maister*, and the *Owner*, you haue Presidents of all sorts in most *Scriueners* shops.

General sea terms belonging to ships.

A dry Docke, the stockes, the keele, the steme, the sterne, the starne-port, the flowre, the sleepers, rising timbers, garble strake, her rake, the fore reach, plankes, bindings, knees, boults, trunions, [**11**] brasers, riders, the Orlope, the ports, the bend, the bowe, the hawse, the hawses, the decke, the partners, a flush decke, fore and aft, the ram heads, the Knights, a halfe decke, a quarter decke, the bulke, the bulkes-head, the skuttle, the hatches, the hatches way, the holes in the commings, pitch, tarre, rosen, okum, calking. In the stearage roome, the whip, the bittakell, the trauas boord, the Compasse, the Fly, the needle, the lanthorne, the socket. About the Gun-roome, the Tiller, the rudder, the pintels, the gudgions, the bread-roome, the ships runne. The powder-roome, the Stewards roome, the cooke roome, the great cabbon, the gallery, a cabben, a hanging cabben, a Hamacke, the lockers, the round-house, the counter, the wayst, the wayst-boords, the gunwayle, stations for the nettings, a chaine through the stations, or brest-ropes.

What belongs to the Pumpe.

The Pumpe, the pumpes-well, the [**12**] pumpes brake, the pumpes can, the pumpes chaine, the spindle, the boxe, the clap. The pumpe is choaked, the pumpe suckes, the ship is stanche.

What belongs to the fore castle.

The forecastle, or prow, the beake head, the bits, the fish-hooke, a loufe-hooke, and the blocke at the *Dauids* ende, the Cat, Cats head and Cats holes, the ships draught.

The Masts, Caps, and Yeards.

The boule spret, the pillow, the sturrop, the spret sayle, the spret sayle yeard, the spret sayle top mast, the spret sayle top sayle yard: the fore mast, the fore yard, the fore top, the fore top mast, the fore top sayle yard, the fore top gallant mast, the fore top gallant sayle yeard. Coates and wouldings for all masts and yeards, grummets, and staples for all yeards.

[1626] The trussell trees or crosse trees, the maine mast, the step in the kelson where it puts its heele, as doth also the fore mast; the maine yard, the maine top, the main top mast, the maine top sayle yeard, the top gallant [**13**] mast, the maine top gallant sayle yeard, the trucke or flagge staffe.

The misen, the misen yeard, the misen top mast, the misen top sayle yeard. In great ships they haue two misens, the latter is called the *boneauentuer* misen. Then the poope, Lanthorne, and flagge staffe. When a mast is borne by the boord, they make a Iury-mast; which is made with yards, rouftrees, or what they can, splised or fished together.

The capsterne and other generall phrases.

The Capsterne, the pawle, the whelps, the capsterne bars. A Ieare capsterne is only in great ships to hoyse their sayles. The canhookes, slings, and parbunkels, ports and ringbolts and hooks, the skuppers, the skupper holes, the chaines, the steepe tubs, an entring ladder or cleats, a boy, a can boy. A ship cranke sided, Iron sicke, spewes her okum, a leak[i]e ship. The sheathing, furring, carrying, washing, and breaming, lanching, caruing, guilding, and painting a ship. Ballast, kintlage, canting [**14**] coynes, standing coynes, roufe trees, a grating, netting or false decke for your close fights.

The ropes names in a ship.

The entring rope, the boate rope, the bucket rope, the boy rope, guest rope, the cat rope, the port ropes, the heele rope, the rudder rope, the top ropes, the bolt ropes. The brest ropes are now out of vse, the water line is [*i.e., in use*].

Concerning the tackling and rigging [of] a ship.

The tacklings are the fore stay, the maine stay. The tackles, the mison stay, the collers, the maine shrouds and chaines, the maine top shroudes, the fore shroud, the fore top shroud, the swifters, the mison shroudes, the mison top shroudes and their ratlings, and the parels to all masts. The maine hallyards, the maine top sayle hallyards, the top gallant saile hal[l]yards, the fore hallyards, the fore top sayle hallyard, the misen hallyard, and the spret sayle hallyeard, the horse, the maine sheats, the maine top sayle sheats, the maine braces, the maine top sayle [**15**] braces, the maine bowling and bridles, the maine top sayle bowlin[e], the bunt lines, the trusses, the lifts, the earring, the cat harpings, a Ieare, leatch lines; the Robins, garnit, Clew garnits, tyes, martlits. The most of all these are also belonging to the fore mast, misen and bowlespret,

and hath the same denomination after their masts; onely the boulespret hath no bow lines, and the misen sheats, are called the starne sheats. They haue all of them pullies, blockes, shiuers and dead mens eyes, Lanyeards, caskets, and crowes feete. A snap blocke is seldom vsed but in heauing of goods and ordnances. [1626]

There is also diuerse other small cordage, as head lines, the knaulings, gassits or furling lines, marlines, rop[e] yearne, Caburne, Sinnet, paunches, and such like.

The Cables, hawsers or streame cables, are most vsed in the water by the Anchors. When they are too short, [**16**] they shoote one into another. When they are galled or breake, they splice them. When that way vnseruiceable, they serue for Iunkes, fendors and braded plackets for brests of defence; and then, as the rest of the ouerworne tackling, for rope yarne, caburne, sinnit, an[d] okum. Sheeps feet is a stay in setling a top mast, and a guie in staying the tackles when they are charged with goods.

Tearmes for Anchors.

The Anchor hath a stocke, a ring, a shanke, a flouke. The greatest in euery ship is called the sheat Anchor, the rest Anchors. The streame Anchor, graplings or kedgers. Bend your cables to your Anchors.

The names of the sailes.

The maine saile, the fore sayle called sometimes the fore course; the maine course or a paire of courses, each of them hath a bonnet and a drabler; the maine top sayle, the top gallant sayle, and in a faire gaile your studding sayles; then your mison, your misen [**17**] top sayle, your spret sayle, and spret sayle top sayle, a drift sayle, a crosiack, a netting sayle. Twyne, a munke seame, a round seame, a suit of sayles, a shift of sayles, top Armours, wayst clothes, pendants and colours.

The tearmes for the harbor.

A channell, a bay, a rode, a sound, an offen, a cone, a crike, a riuer; cleere ground, very fast ground or good anchoring; foule ground, osie ground, sandy ground, clay ground; a headland, a furland, a reatch, a land marke.

For the winds.

A calme, a brese, a fresh gaile, a pleasant gayle, a stiffe gayle. It ouerblowes. A gust, a storme, a spoute, a loume gaile, an eddy wind, a flake of wind, a Turnado, a mounthsoune, a Herycano.

Tearmes for the sea.

A calme sea, becalmed, a rough sea, an ouergrowne sea,

[1626] the rut of the sea, the roaring of the sea. It flowes quarter floud, high water, or a still water. A full sea, a spring tide, ebbe, a quarter ebbe, halfe ebbe, three quarters ebbe, a lowe water, a dead low water, a nepe tide, a [**18**] shoule, a ledge of rockes, a breach, a shallow water, deepe water, soundings, fadome by the marke, 3 o*d* and a shaftment left. 4 o*d*. Disimboage, a gulph, the froth of the sea.

Tearmes for stearing. Starbord is the right hand, Larbord is the left. Starboord the helme, right your helme a loufe, keepe your loufe, come no neere, keepe full, stidy, so you goe well, port, warre, no more; beare vp the helme, goe roumy, be yare at the helme, a fresh man at the helme.

Tearmes of Warre. A sayle, how stands she, to windward or leyward, set him by the Compasse, he stands right a-head; or on the weather bow, or ley bow: out with all your sayles, a stydy man to the helme, sit close to keep her stydie. Giue chase or fetch him vp, he holds his owne, nowe[we] gather on him, out goeth his flag and pendance or streames, also his Colours, his wast-clothes and top armings, he furles and slings his maine saile, in goes his spret sayle and misen, he makes ready [**19**] his close fights fore and after. Well, we shall reach him by and bye.

What is all ready? Yea, yea. Euery man to his charge, Dowse your top sayle, salute him for the sea; Ha[i]le him: whence your ship? Of *Spayne*, whence is yours? Of *England*. Are you Merchants or Men of Warre. We are of the Sea. He wayses vs to leyward for the King of *Spaine*, and keeps his loufe. Giue him a chase peece, a broad side, and runne ahead, make ready to tacke about, giue him your sterne peeces, be yare at helme, ha[i]le him with a noyse of Trumpets.

We are shot through and through, and betweene winde and water, trye the pumpe. Maister let vs breathe and refreshe a little. Sling a man ouerboord to stop the leake. Done, done. Is all ready againe, Yea, yea: beare vp close with him, with all your great and small shot charge him. Boord him on his weather quarter, lash fast your graplins and sheare off, then run stemlins the [**24**] mid ships. Boord and boord, or thwart the hawse, we are foule on each other.

The ships on fire. Cut any thing to get cleere, and smother the fire with wet clothes. We are cleere, and the fire is out, God be thanked. [1626]

The day is spent, let vs consult. Surgion looke to the wounded. Wind vp the slaine, with each a waight or bullet at his head and feete, giue three peeces for their funerals. Swabber make cleane the shippe. Purser record their names. Watch bee vigilant to keepe your berth to windward: and that wee loose him not in the night. Gunners spunge your Ordinances. Souldiers skower your peeces. Carpenters about your leakes. Boteson and the rest, repaire the sayles and shrouds. Cooke see you obserue your directions against the morning watch.

Boy. Holla Maister. Holla, Is the kettle boyled? Yea, yea.

Boteswaine call vp the men to Prayer and Breakfast. [**25**]

Boy fetch my celler of Bottles. A health to you all fore and afte, courage my hearts for a fresh charge: Maister lay him a bord loufe for loufe; Midships men see the tops and yeards well maned with stones and brasse bals, to enter them in the shrouds, and every squadron else at their best aduantage. Sound Drums and Trumpets, and St. *George* for *England*.

They hang out a flag of truse, stand in with him, ha[i]le him a mayne, [to] abase or take in his flagge, strike their sayles and come aboard, with the Captaine, Purser, and Gunner, with your Commission, Cocket, or bills of loading.

Out goes their Boate, they are lanched from the Ship side. Entertayne them with a generall cry, God saue the Captayne, and all the Company, with the Trumpets sounding. Examine them in particuler; and then conclude your conditions with feasting, freedome, or punishment, as you finde occasion. [**26**]

Other wayes if you surprize him or enter perforce; you may stow the men, rifle, pillage, or sacke, and crye a prize.

To call a Councell in a Fleete: there is the Councell of Warre, and the common Councell, which hangs their flags out in the mayne shrouds, and the misen.

Now, betweene two Navies they use often, especially in a Harbour or rode, where they are at anchor, to fill olde

[1626] Barkes with pitch, tar, trayne oyle, linsed oyle, brimstone, rosen, reedes, and dry wood, and such combustable things sometimes they linke three or foure together, towed together in the night, and put a drift as they finde occasion.

To passe a Fort, some will make both shippe and sayles all blacke: but if the Fort keepe but a fire on the other side, and all their peeces poynt blanke with fire, if they discharge, what is betwixt them and the fire the shot will [**27**] hit, if the rule be truely obserued.

To conclude, there is as many stratagims, advantages, and inventions to be vsed, as you finde occasions; and therefore experiences must be the best Tutor.

Concerning sayling or working of a Ship.

Bend your passerado to the mayne-sayle, git the sailes to the yeards, about your geare on all hands, hoyse your sayles halfe mast high, make ready to set sayle, crosse your yeards, bring your Cable to the Capsterne. Boatswaine fetch an Anchor aboord, break ground or way Anchor, heaue a head, men into the tops, men vpon the yeards. Come is the Anchor a pike, heaue out your topsayles, hawle your sheates. What's the Anchor away: Yea, yea. Let fall your fore sayle, whose at the helme there, coyle your cable in small slakes, hawle the cat, a bitter, belay, loufe, fast your Anchor with your shanke painter, stow the boate. Let falle your maine saile, on with your bonnets and drablers, steare studybefore the wind. [**28**]

The wind veares, git your star-boord tacks aboord, hawle off your ley sheats, ouerhawle the ley bowlin, ease your mayne brases, out with your spret-saile, flat the fore sheat, pike vp the misen or brade it. The ship will not wayer, loure the maine top saile, veare a fadome of your sheat. A flown sheate, a faire winde and a boune voyage, the wind shrinks, get your tacks close aboord, make ready your loufe howks and ley fagnes, to take off your bonnits and drablers, hawle close your maine bowline.

It ouercasts, we shall haue winde, sattle your top sailes, take in the spret sayle, in with your topsayles, lower your maine sayles, tallow vnder the parrels, in with your maine sayle, lower the fore sayle. The sayle is split, brade vp close all your sayles, lash sure the Ordinances, strike your top masts to the cap, make them sure with

your sheepes feete. A storme, hull, lash sure the helme a ley, lye to try out drift. How capes the ship? cun the ship [**29**] spoune before the winde, she lusts, she lyes vnder the Sea, trie her with a crose jacke, bowse it vp with the out-looker. She will founder in the Sea, runne on shore, split or billage on a Rocke, a wracke, put out a goose-winge, or a hullocke of a sayle. [1626]

Faire weather, set your fore sayle. Out with all your sailes, get your Larboard tackes aboord, hawle off your Starboord sheats, goe large, laske, ware yawning, the ships at stayes, at backe-stayes, ouer-set the ship, flat about, handle your Sayles, or trim your sayles, let rise your tacks, hawle of your sheats. Rocke-weede, adrift, or flotes. One to the top to looke out for Land. A ships wake, the water way, the weather bow, weather coyle, lay the ship by the Ley, and heaue the lead, try the dipsie line, bring the ship to rights, fetch the log-line to try what way shee makes, turne vp the minute glasse, obserue the hight. Land, to make Land, how beares it, set it by the Compasse [**30**] cleare your leach-lines, beare in, beare off, or stand off, or sheare off, beare vp.

Outward bound, homeward bound, shorten your Sailes, take in your Sailes, come to an Anchor vnder the Ley of the weather shore, the Ley shore, nealed too, looke to your stoppers, your Anchor comes home, the ships a drift, vere out more Cable, let fall your sheat Anchor, land locked, mo[o]re the ship. A good Voyage, Armes, arme a skiffe, a frigot, a pinnace, a ship, a squadron, a fleete. When you ride amongst many ships, pike your yards.

The tearmes of the boate.

To the boate or skiffe belongs oares, a mast, a saile, a stay, a halyard, sheats, a boat-hook, thoughts, thoules, rudder, irons, bailes, a trar-pawling or yawning, carlings, carling-knees, for the *Dauid*, the boates-wayles, a dridge. To row a spell, hold-water, trim the boate, *vea*, *vea*, *vea*, *vea*, *vea*, who saies Amen, one and all, for a dram of the bottle. [**31**]

The names of all sorts of great Ordinance and peeces, and their appurtenances.

A Basillisco, double Cannon, Cannon Pedrea, demy Cannon, Culvering, Sakar, Minion, Falcon, Falconet, Rabbenet, Murderers, slings, Chambers, Curriors, Hargabusacrock, Musquets, bastard Musquets, Coliners, Carbines, Crabuts, long Pistols, short Pistols, Charges, Cartrages,

[1626] Match, Spunges, Ladles, Rammers, Rammers heads, tomkins, a worme, a bore, a barrell, taper bore, hunicomed, lint stockes, carrages, trukes, linch-pins, trunions, axell-trees, beds, coynings. The peeces in the prow, the chase peeces in the sterne, the quarter peeces, the mid-ships; the vpper tyre, the middle tyre, their fids and leads to keepe dry the touch hole. Travers a peece, dispeart a peece. Compasse Calipers, a gunners quadrant, a hand spike, a crow of iron, to mount a peece, to dismount a peece, a darke Lanthorne, a budge barrell, a horne, a priming iron. Wyer, round shot, crosse-[**32**]-barre-shot, chayne-shot, langrill-shot, a case, case-shot, lead, melting ladles, moulds, bullet bagges, Musquet shot, Colyuer shot, quartred shot, Pistol shot, poysoned bullets, brasse bals, iron bals, granadoes, trunkes of wilde fire, pikes of wild fire, arrowes of wild fire, pots of wild fire or dragouns. To cloye a peece: To loade a peece: To poyson a peece. Hookes for gunners or tacklings.

Concerning the shooting of great Ordinance.

Concerning the particuler theor[e]mes, or tearmes, for great Ordnances, as the concaue, trunke, cylinder, the soule or bore of a peece: To know whether she be equally bored, camber, taper, or belbored; the severall names of her mettle, the thinnesse and thicknesse, her carnooze or base ring at her britch, her shaft or chase, her trunnions, mousell rings at her mouth, to dispart her, know her leuell poynt blanke and best at randome, her fortification, the differences of powder, be it serpentine or corned powder; if she be well mounted, [**33**] vpon a leuell plotforme or no: besides there are so many vncertaine accidents, both in the peece, shot, and powder, the ground the ayre and differences in proportion, they can no certaine artificiall rules be proscribed.

Those proportions following are neere the matter, but for your better satisfaction, read Master *Digs* his *Pantrymetria*, Master *Smith*, or Master *Burnes* Arte of gun[ne]ry, or Master *Robert Nortons* expositions vpon maister *Digs*: any of these will shew you the Theoricke; but to be a good Gunner, you must learn it by practise.

The Gunners scale is made in brasse at Tower Hill, with prospectiue glasses, and many other instruments by Master *Bates*. [**34**]

A Table of Proportions for the vse of great Ordinance. [1626]

[Names.]	The weight of the Peeces in pounds.	The weight of the shot in pounds.	The Circumference of the shot in pounds.	The height of the shot in inches.	The length of the Ladle in inches.	The bredth of the Ladle in inches.	The weight of the powder in pounds.	Skores of paces at poynt blanke.
A Cannon... ...	8000	63	$24\frac{5}{4}$	$7\frac{3}{4}$	23	15	46	26
Demy Cannon ...	6000	32	$18\frac{1}{6}$	6	$22\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	24	30
A Culuering ...	5500	18	$15\frac{6}{7}$	5	22	9	14	33
Demy Culuering	4500	9	$12\frac{4}{7}$	4	20	8	9	39
A Sacar	3500	$5\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{3}{14}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$16\frac{1}{6}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$	26
A Minion... ...	1500	4	$9\frac{3}{7}$	3	15	6	4	25
A Falcon	1100	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{0}{7}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	5	$2\frac{1}{4}$	14
A Falconet ...	500	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{3}{7}$	2	10	4	$1\frac{1}{4}$	8

Note that seldome in any Ships they vse any Ordinance greater then a demy Cannon. [**35**]

How they devide their shares in a Man of Warre.

The Ship hath one third part; the Victualler the other third; the other third part is for the Company, and this is subdivided thus.

				Shares
The Captaine	*hath*	...	...	9.
The Master	*hath*	...	...	7.
The Mates	*hath*	...	...	5.
The Gunners	*hath*	...	...	5.
The Carpenter	*hath*	...	...	5.
The Boatswaine	*hath*	...	...	4.

[1626]

				Shares.
The Marshall	*hath*	...	...	4.
The Corporal	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Chyrugion	*hath*	...	...	3.
The quarter Masters	*hath*	...	...	4.
The Steward	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Cooke	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Coxon	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Trumpeter	*hath*	...	...	4.

The Sailers, two or one and a halfe.
The Boyes a single share.
The Lieuetenant what the Captaine will giue him, or as they can agree. [**36**]

They vse to appoint a certaine reward extraordinary to him that first discries a Sayle if they take her, and to him that first enters her.

For to learne to obserue the Altitude, Latitude, Longitude, Amplitude, the variation of the Compasse, the Sunnes Azimuth and Almicanter, to shift the Sunne and Moone, and to know the tydes, your roomes, pricke your card, and say your Compasse, get some of those bookes: but practise is the best.

Master [E.] Wrights *errors of Nauigation.*
Master [J.] Taps *Sea-mans Kallender.*
[M. Cortes.] *The Art of Nauigation.*
[W. Bourne.] *The Sea Regiment.*
[J. Davis.] *The Sea-mans Secrets.*
Wagganour [*i.e.*, J. S. Waghenaer's *The Marinours Mirrour*, translated by A. Ashley. 1588.]

Master [E.] Gunters *workes.*
The Sea-mans glasse for skale.
The new attracter for variation.
Master Wright *for the vse of the Globe.*
Master Hewes *for the same.* [**37**]
Good Sea Cards [*i.e.*, *Charts.*]
Two paire of Compasees.
An Astralobe quadrant.
A Crosse staffe.
A backe staffe.
An Astrolobe.
An Nocturnall.

If you haue a Divine, his pay is most commonly both from the Aduenturers and the Saylors; so also is the Chyrurgion.

[1626] Advertisements for yong Commanders, Captaines and Officers.

Young Gentlemen that desires commaund ought well to consider, the condition of his ship, victuall, and Company; for if there be more learners then Saylers, how sleightly soeuer many esteeme Saylers, all the worke to saue Ship, goods, and liues, must lye vpon them, especially in foule weather, the labour, hazard, wet and cold is so incredible I cannot expresse it. It is not then the number of them that here will say at home, what I cannot [**38**] doe, I can quickly learne, and what a great matter it is to sayle a Ship, or goe to Sea. Surely those for a good time will doe most trouble then good. I confesse it is more necessary such should go, but not too many in one ship; for if the labour of sixty should lye vpon thirty, as many times it doth; they are so ouer-charged with labour, bru[i]ses, and ouer-strayning themselues: (for there is no dallying nor excuses with stormes, gusts, overgrowne seas, and ley shores), they fall sicke of one disease or other, and then if their Victuals be putrified, it indangers all.

Men of all other professions, in lightning, thunder, stormes and tempests, with raine and snow, may shelter themselues in dry houses, by good fires, and good cheere; but those are the chief times, that Sea-men must stand to their tackelings, and attend with all diligence their greatest labour vpon the Deckes. Many supposeth any thing is good enough [**39**] to serue men at sea, and yet nothing sufficient for them a shore, either for their healthes, for their ease, or estates, or state. A Commaunder at Sea should do well to thinke the contrary, and prouide for himselfe and company in like manner; also seriously to consider what will be his charge, to furnish himselfe at sea, with bedding, linnen, armes, and apparell; how to keepe his table aboord, his expences on shore, and his Petty Tally, which is a competent proportion according to your number, of these particulars following.

Fine wheat flower, close and well packed, *Rise, Currands, Sugar, Prunes, Cinamon, Ginger, Pepper, Cloues, Greene-ginger, Oyle, Butter, Olde Cheese, or Holland, Wine, vinegar, Canary Sacke, Aqua vitæ, the best Wines, the best Waters, the iuyce of Lemons* for the Scurvey, *white Bisket, Oate meale, Gammons of Bacon, dried neates tongues, Rosted Beefe* packed vp in vineger. [**40**] *Legges of Mutton* minced

[1626] and stewed, and close packed vp with butter in earthen pots. To entertaine strangers, *Marmelet, Suckets, Almonds, Comfits,* and such like.

Some it may bee will say, I would haue men rather to feast then fight. But I say the want of those necessaries, occasions the losse of more men, then in any English fleet hath bin slaine in any fight since [15]88: for when a man is ill sicke, or at the poynt of death, I would know whether a dish of buttered Rice, with a little Cinamon and Sugar, a little minced meate, or roast beefe, a few stewed Prunes, a race of greene-ginger, a flap Iacke, a can of fresh water brued with a little Cinamon, Ginger, and Sugar, be not better then a little poore *Iohn*, or salt fish, with oyle and mustard, or bisket, butter, cheese or oatemeale pottage on fish dayes, salt beefe, porke and pease, and sixe shillings beere. This is your ordinary ships allowance, and good for [**41**] them are well, if well conditioned; which is not alwayes, as sea-men can too well witnesse: and after a storme, when poore men are all wet, and some not so much a cloth to shift him, shaking with cold, few of those but will tell you, a little Sacke or Aquvitæ, is much better to keepe them in health, then a little small beere or cold water, although it be sweete. Now that euery one should prouide those things for himselfe, few of them haue either that prouidence or meanes. And there is neither Alehouse, Tauerne, nor Inne to burne a faggot in; neither Grocer, Poulterie, Apothocary, nor Butchers shop: and therefore the vse of this petty tally is necessary, and thus to be imployed as there is occasion, to entertaine strangers, as they are in quality, euery Commander should shewe himselfe as like himselfe as he can, as well for the credit of the ship and his settors forth as himselfe. But in that heerein euery one [**42**] may moderate themselues, according to their owne pleasures, therefore I leaue it to their owne discretions. And this breefe Discourse, and my selfe, to their friendly construction and good opinion.

IOHN SMITH *Writ this with his owne Hand.*

FINIS.

THE
TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTVRES, AND OBSERVATIONS
OF

Captaine IOHN SMITH,

In *Europe*, *Asia*, *Affrica*, and *America*, from *Anno Domini* 1593 to 1629.

His Accidents and Sea-fights in the Straights; his Service and Stratagems of warre in *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, against the *Turks*, and *Tartars*; his three single combats betwixt the *Christian* Armie and the *Turkes*.

After how he was taken prisoner by the *Turks*, sold for a Slave, sent into *Tartaria*; his description of the *Tartars*, their strange manners and customes of Religions, Diets, Buildings, Warres, Feasts, Ceremonies, and Living; how hee slew the Bashaw of *Nalbrits* in *Cambia*, and escaped from the *Turkes* and *Tartars*.

Together with a continuation of his generall History of *Virginia*, *Summer-Iles*, *New England*, and their proceedings, since 1624. to this present 1629; as also of the new Plantations of the great River of the *Amazons*, the Iles of St. *Christopher*, *Mevis*, and *Barbados* in the *West Indies*.

All written by actuall Authours, whose names you shall finde along the History.

LONDON,
Printed by *I. H.* for *Thomas Slater*, and are to bee sold at the Blew Bible in *Greene Arbour*. 1630.

[On the 18th April 1884, we personally inspected, at the College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C., Sir WILLIAM SEGAR'S registration of the Coat of Arms on the opposite page ; see *p.* xxiv.

It may be well to repeat what we have already said at *p.* xxiii, that most of what is here recorded by SMITH of his doings in Hungary, Transylvania, &c., in Chapters iv.–x., *pp.* 829–850, is but a *reprint* of PURCHAS's translated *Extracts* from the Italian History or Biography of FRANCISCO FARNESE, the Secretary to Prince SIGISMUNDUS BÁTORI, *pp.* 788, 852 : and is therefore *not* SMITH's own account of his own doings, but chiefly the narrative of a foreigner with no possible motive for his laudation.

This Work was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, London :

29 August 1629.

Thomas Slaughter Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor JEFFERAY and master **Purfoote** Warden *The true travells aduentures and observacions of Captaine JOHN SMITH in Europe Asia &c. from Anno Domini* 1593 *to* 1629. . . . vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 218, 1877.

The *Travels*, however, come no later than 1604, see *p.* 880 : the *Observations* comprise the carrying on of the story of our colonizing efforts from 1624, where the *General History* left off at *p.* 784, down to the year 1629.

There seems to have been some delay in the publication of this book, for though registered in August 1629, it came out with the date 1630.

For the bibliography of this Work see *p.* cxxxi.]


Vincere est Viuere
Accordamus

To the Right Honourable
WILLIAM, Earle of PEMBROKE,
Lord Steward of his Majesties most
Honourable Houshold.

ROBERT, Earle of LINDSEY,
Great Chamberlaine of
ENGLAND.

HENRIE, Lord HUNSDON,
Vicount ROCHFORD, Earle of DOVER.

And all your Honourable Friends
and Well-willers.

My Lords:

[1629] SIR *Robert Cotton*, that most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie, having by perusall of my Generall Historie, and others [*i.e., his other earlier publications*], found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by it selfe: whose noble desire I could not but in part satisfie; the

rather, because they have acted my fatall Tragedies upon the Stage, and racked my Relations at their pleasure. To prevent therefore all future misprisons, I have compiled this true discourse. Envie hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little: but that such should know, how little I esteeme them, I have writ this; more for the satisfaction of my friends, and all generous and well disposed Readers. [1629]

To speake only of my selfe were intolerable ingratitude; because, having had so many co-partners with me; I cannot make a Monument for my selfe, and leave them unburied in the fields, whose lives begot me the title of a Souldier; for as they were companions with me in my dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this Tombe.

For my *Sea Grammar* (caused to bee printed by my worthy friend, Sir *Samuel Saltonstall* [*p.* 787]) hath found such good entertainment abroad, that I have beene importuned by many noble persons, to let this also passe the Presse.

Many of the most eminent Warriers, and others; what their swords did, their penns writ. Though I bee never so much their inferiour, yet I hold it no great errour, to follow good examples; nor repine at them, [who] will doe the like.

And now my most Honourable good Lords, I know not to whom I may better present it, than to your Lordships, whose friendships, as I conceive,

[1629] are as much to each others, as my duty is to you all: and because you are acquainted both with my endevours, and writings, I doubt not, but your honours will as well accept of this, as of the rest; and Patronize it under the shadow of your most noble vertues, which I am ever bound in all duty to reverence, and under which I hope to have shelter, against all stormes that dare threaten.

Your Honours to be commanded,

IOHN SMITH.



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CHAP. 1. HIs *birth*; *apprentiship*; *going into* France; *his beginning with ten shillings and three-pence, his service in* Netherlands; *his bad passage into* Scotland; *his returne to* Willoughby; *and how he lived in the woods.* page 1. [*p.* 821]

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13. *The* Turks *diet; the Slaves diet; the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of Warres and Religions,* &c. 24. [*p.* 855]

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To my worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629] *TWo greatest Shires of* England *did thee beare,*
Renowned Yorkshire, *Gaunt-stild* Lancashire;
But what's all this? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabigzanda, Callamata's *love,*
Deare Pocahontas, *Madam* Shanoi's *too,*
Who did what love with modesty could doe:
Record thy worth, thy birth, which as I live,
Even in thy reading such choice solace give,
As I could wish (*such wishes would doe well*)
Many such Smiths *in this our* Israel.

R. BRATHWAIT.

To my noble brother and friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

THou hast a course so full of honour runne,
Envy may snarle, as dogges against the Sunne
May barke, not bite: for what deservedly
With thy lifes danger, valour, pollicy,
Quaint warlike stratagems, abillity
And judgement, thou hast got, fame sets so high
Detraction cannot reach: thy worth shall stand
A patterne to succeeding ages, and
Cloth'd in thy owne lines, ever shall adde grace,
Vnto thy native Country and thy race;
And when dissolv'd, laid in thy mothers wombe,
These, Cæsar-*like,* Smiths *Epitaph and tombe.*

ANTHONY FEREBY.

To his valiant and deserving friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

MOngst Frenchmen, Spanyards, Hungars, Tartars, Turks, [1629]
And wilde Virginians *too, this tells thy works:*
Now some will aske, what benefit? what gaine?
Is added to thy store for all this paine?
Th'art then content to say, content is all,
Th'ast got content for perils, paine and thrall;
Tis lost to looke for more: for few men now
Regard Wit, Learning, Valour; but allow
The quintessence of praise to him that can
Number his owne got gold, and riches, than
Th'art Valiant, Learned, Wise; Pauls *counsell will,*
Admire thy merits, magnifie thy skill.
The last of thine to which I set my hand
Was a Sea Grammar; *this by Sea and Land,*
Serves us for imitation: I know none,
That like thy selfe hast come, and runne, and gone,
To such praise-worthy actions: bee't approued,
Th'ast well deserv'd of best men to be loued:
If France, *or* Spaine, *or any forren soile*
Could claime thee theirs, for these thy paines and toile,
Th'adst got reward and honour: now adayes,
What our owne natives doe, we seldom praise.

Good men will yeeld thee praise; then sleight the rest;
Tis best praise-worthy to have pleased the best.

Tuissimus ED. IORDEN.

To my worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629]



Eare noble Captaine, who by Sea and Land,
To act the earnest of thy name hast hand
And heart; who canst with skill designe the Fort,
The Leaguer, Harbour, City, Shore, and Port:
Whose sword and pen in bold, ruffe, Martiall wise,
Put forth to try and beare away the prize,
From Cæsar *and* Blaize Monluc: *Can it be,*
That Men alone in Gonnels *fortune see*
Thy worth advanc'd? no wonder since our age,
Is now at large a Bedlem or a Stage.

RICH. IAMES.

To his worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.



Hou that hast had a spirit to flie like thunder,
Without thy Countries charge through those strange dangers,
Doth make my muse amazed, and more to wonder
That thy deserts should shared be by strangers,
And thou neglected; (ah miracle!) most lamented,
At thy great patience thus to rest contented.

For none can truly say thou didst deceive, [1629]
Thy Souldiers, Sailers, Merchants, nor thy friends,
But all from thee a true account receive,
Yet nought to thee all these thy vertues brings;
Is none so noble to advance thy merit,
If any be, let him thy praise inherit.

MA. HAWKINS.

To my worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

TO combate with three Turks in single du'le,
Before two Armies, who the like hath done?
Slaine thy great Iailor; found a common weale
In faire America *where; thou hast wonne*
No lesse renowne amongst their Savage Kings,
Than Turkish warres, that thus thy honour sings.

Could not those tyrants daunt thy matchlesse spirit,
Nor all the cruelty of envies spight:
Will not thy Country yet reward thy merit,
Nor in thy acts and writings take delight?
Which here in so few sheets doth more expresse
Than volumes great, this is thy happinesse.

RICHARD MEADE.

To my well deserving friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629] *THou hast no need to covet new applause,*
Nor doe I thinke vaine-glory moves thee to it;
But since it is thy will (though without cause)
To move a needlesse thing, yet will I doe it:
Doe it in briefe I will, or else I doe the[e] wrong,
And say, rend or'e Captaine Smiths *former song;*
His first then will invite thee to his latter:
Reader 'tis true; *I am not brib'd to flatter.*

EDW. INGHAM.

To his approved friend, the Authour; Captaine IOHN SMITH.

i.e., Bard.] *HE old* Greeke Beard,* *counts him the onely man,*
Who knowes strange Countries, like his Ithacan,
And wise, as valiant, by his observation,
Can tell the severall customes of each Nation:
All these are met in thee, who will not then
Repute thee in the ranke of worthiest men?

To th'Westerne world to former times unknowne,
Thy active spirit hath thy valour showne:
The Turks *and* Tartars *both can testifie,*
Thee t'have deserv'd a Captaines dignity;
But verse thou need'st not to expresse thy worth,
Thy acts, this booke doe plainly set it forth.

M. CARTNER.

To the *Valourous* and truly-*vertuous* souldier, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629]

NO* Faith in Campe? *tis false*: *see pious* Smith
Hath brought stragling Astræa *backe, and with*
An all outdaring spirit made Valour *stand*
Vpheld by Vertue *in bold* Mars *his land*:
If Valourous, *be praise*; *how great's his Name*?
Whose Valour *joynd with* Vertue *laud's his Fame.*
T'was Homers *boast of wise* Laertes *sonne*,
†Well-read in men and Cities: *than thou none*
(*Great* Smith) *of these can more true tales rehearse*;
What want thy praises then, but Homers *verse*?

* Nullæ fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.

† πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω Hom. Odyss. *a.*

In Smithum Distichon.

Quisque suæ sortis*Faber: an Faber exstitit unquam
Te (Smithe) fortunæ verior usque suæ?

* Appius.

I. C.
C. P.

To his noble friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

TO *see bright honour sparkled all in gore,*
Would steele a spirit that ne're fought before:
And that's the height of Fame, when our best bloud,
Is nobly spilt in actions great and good:
So thou hast taught the world to purchase Fame,
Rearing thy story on a glorious frame,
And such foundation doth thy merits make it,
As all detractions rage shall never shake it;
Thy actions crowne themselves, and thy owne pen,
Gives them the best and truest Epiphonem.

BRIAN O ROVRKE.

To his truly deserving friend Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629]

CAn one please all? there's none from Censure *free,*
To looke for'it then it were absurd in thee;
It's easie worke to censure sweetest Layes,
Where Ignorance *is* Iudge *thou'd have no praise:*
Wisdome *I know will mildly* judge *of all,*
Envious hearts, tongues, pennes, are dippt in Gall.
Proud malignant times will you now bring forth
Monsters *at least to snarle at others worth;*
O doe not so, but wisely looke on him
That wrought such Honours *for his* Countries King*:*
Of Turks *and* Tartars *thou hast wonne the field,*
The great Bashaw *his* Courage *thou hast quel'd;*
In the Hungarian warre *thou'st shewd thy* Arts,
Proued thy Selfe *a* Souldier *true in all parts:*
Thy Armes *are deckt with that thy* Sword *hath wonne,*
Which mallice can't out-weare till day be done:
For three proud Turks *in single fight thou'st slue,*
Their Heads adorne *thy* Armes, *for witnesse true;*
Let Mars *and* Neptune *both with* Pregnant *wit,*
Extoll thy due deserts, Ile pray for it.

SALO. TANNER

THE TRVE TRAVELS, ADVENTVRES, AND OBSERVATIONS OF CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africke*, and *America*:
beginning about the yeere 1593. and
continued to this present
1629.

CHAPTER I.

His birth; *Apprentiship*; *Going into France*; *His beginning with ten shillings and three pence*; *His Service in* Netherlands; *His bad passage into* Scotland; *His returne to* Willoughby; *And how he lived in the Woods.*

HE was borne [1579] in *Willoughby* in *Lincolne-shire*, and a Scholler in the two Free-schooles of *Alford* and *Louth*. His father anciently descended from the ancient *Smiths* of *Crudley* in *Lancashire*; his mother from the *Rickands* at great *Heck* in *York-shire*. [1579-92]

His parents dying [1592] when he was about thirteene yeeres of age, left him a competent meanes, which hee not being capable to manage, little regarded;

[1592-9] his minde being even then set upon brave adventures, [he] sould his Satchell, bookes, and all he had, intending secretly to [2] get to Sea, but that his fathers death [*Aug.* 1592] stayed him.

But now the Guardians of his estate more regarding it than him, he had libertie enough, though no meanes, to get beyond the Sea.

About the age of fifteene yeeres [1594] hee was bound an Apprentice to Master *Thomas Sendall* of *Linne*, the greatest Merchant of all those parts; but because hee would not presently send him to Sea, he never saw his master in eight yeeres after [1595–1603].

At last, he found meanes to attend Master *Perigrine Barty* into *France*, second sonne to the Right Honourable *Perigrine*, that generous Lord *Willoughby* and famous Souldier; where comming to his brother *Robert*, then at *Orleans*, now Earle of *Linsey*, and Lord great Chamberlaine of *England*; being then but little youths under Tutorage: his service being needlesse, within a moneth or six weeks they sent him backe againe to his friends. Who when he came from *London*, they liberally gave him (but out of his owne estate) ten shillings to be rid of him; such oft is the share of fatherlesse children: but those two Honourable Brethren gave him sufficient to returne for *England*.

But it was the least thought of his determination, for now being freely at libertie in *Paris*, growing acquainted with one Master *David Hume*; who making some use of his purse, gave him Letters to his friends in *Scotland* to preferre him to King *Iames*. Arriving at *Roane*, he better bethinkes himselfe, seeing his money neere spent, downe the River he went to *Haver de grace*, where he first began to learne the life of a souldier.

Peace being concluded in *France* [1596], he went with Captaine *Ioseph Duxbury* into the Low-countries, under whose Colours having served three or foure yeeres [1596–9], he tooke his journey for *Scotland*, to deliver his Letters.

At *Ancusan* he imbarked himselfe for *Lethe*, but as much danger as shipwracke and sicknesse could endure, hee had at the holy Ile in *Northumberland* neere Barwicke: (being recovered) into *Scotland* he went to deliver his Letters.

After much kinde usage amongst those honest *Scots* at *Ripweth* and *Broxmoth*, but neither money nor meanes to make him a Courtier; he returned to *Willoughby* in *Lincoln-shire*. [1600]

Where within a short time being glutted with too much company, wherein he took small delight; he retired himselfe into a little wooddie pasture, a good way from any towne, invironed with many hundred Acres of other woods: Here by a faire brook he built a Pavillion of boughes, where only in his cloaths he lay. His studie was *Machiavills* Art of warre, and *Marcus Aurelius*; his exercise a good horse, with his lance and Ring; his food was thought to be more of venison than any thing else; what he wanted, his man brought him.

The countrey wondering at such an Hermite; His friends perswaded one *Seignior Theadora Polaloga*, Rider to *Henry* Earle of *Lincolne*, an excellent Horse-man, and a noble *Italian* Gentleman, to insinuate into his wooddish acquaintances; whose Languages and good discourse, and exercise of riding, drew him to stay with him at *Tattersall*.

Long these pleasures could not content him, but hee returned againe to the Low-Countreyes. [3]

CHAPTER II.

The notable villany of foure French *Gallants, and his revenge*; Smith *throwne over-board*; *Captaine* La Roche *of Saint* Malo *releeves him.*

THus when *France* and *Netherlands* had taught him to ride a Horse and use his Armes, with such rudiments of warre as his tender yeeres [*æt.* 16–20] in those martiall Schooles could attaine unto; he was desirous to see more of the world, and trie his fortune against the *Turkes*: both lamenting and repenting to have seene so many *Christians* slaughter one another.

A notable villany of foure *French* Gallants.

Opportunitie casting him [*in the Low Countries*] into the company of foure *French* Gallants well attended, faining to him the one to be a great Lord, the rest his Gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way; over-perswaded him to

[1600] goe with them into *France*, to the Dutchesse of *Mercury* [*de Mercœur*], from whom they should not only have meanes, but also Letters of favour to her noble Duke, then Generall [*since Sept.* 1598] for the Emperour *Rodolphus* in *Hungary*: which he did, with such ill weather as winter affordeth.

In the darke night, they arrived in the broad shallow In-let of Saint *Valleries sur Some* in *Picardie*; his French Lord knowing he had good apparell, and [was] better furnished with money than themselves, so plotted with the Master of the ship to set his and their owne trunckes a shore, leaving *Smith* aboard till the boat could returne, which was the next day after towards evening: the reason hee alleaged was the sea went so high hee could come no sooner, and that his Lord was gone to *Amiens* where they would stay his comming. Which treacherous villany, when divers other souldiers and passengers understood, they had like to have slaine the Master; and had they knowne how, would have runne away with the ship.

A *Carralue* is in value a penny.

Comming on shore hee had but one *Carralue*, [and] was forced to sell his cloake to pay for his passage. One of the souldiers, called *Curzianvere*, compassionating his injury, assured him this great Lord *Depreau* was only the sonne of a Lawyer of *Mortaigne* in base *Britany*; and his Attendants *Cursell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, three young citizens, as arrant cheats as himselfe: but if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their friends; but in the *interim* [he] supplied his wants.

Thus travelling by *Deepe*, *Codebeck*, *Humphla*, *Pountdemer* in *Normandie*, they came to *Cane* in base *Normandie*: where both this noble *Curzianvere*, and the great Prior of the great Abbey of *S. Steven* (where is the ruinous Tombe of *William* the Conquerour,) and many other of his friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to *Mortaigne*; where hee found *Depreau* and the rest, but to small purpose.

For Master *Curzianvere* was a banished man, and durst not be seene, but to his friends: yet the bruit of their cosenage occasioned the Lady *Collumber*, the Baron *Larshan*, the Lord *Shasghe*, and divers other honourable persons, to supply his wants; and with them to recreate himselfe so long as hee would: but such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poore estate, and his restlesse spirit,

that could neuer finde content, to receiue such noble favours, as he could neither deserve nor requite. [4] [1600]

But wandring from Port to Port to finde some man of war, [he] spent that he had; and in a Forest, neere dead with griefe and cold, a rich Farmer found him by a faire Fountaine under a tree. This kinde Pesant releeved him againe to his content, to follow his intent.

Here he incountred one of the theeves.

Not long after, as he passed thorow a great grove of trees, betweene *Pounterson* and *Dina* in *Britaine*, it was his chance to meet *Cursell*, more miserable than himselfe. His piercing injuries had so small patience, as without any word they both drew, and in a short time *Cursell* fell to the ground; where from an old ruinated Tower the inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard *Cursell* confesse what had formerly passed; and that how in the dividing that they had stolne from him, they fell by the ears amongst themselves, that were actors in it: but for his part, he excused himselfe to be innocent as well of the one, as of the other.

The noblenesse of the Earle of *Ployer*.

In regard of his hurt, *Smith* was glad to be so rid of him, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earle of *Ployer*; who during the warre in *France* [1590–6], with his two brethren, Viscount *Poomory*, and Baron *d'Mercy*, who had beene brought up in *England*: by him he was better refurnished than ever. When they had shewed him Saint *Malo* Mount, Saint *Michael*, *Lambal*, *Simbreack*, *Lanion*, and their owne faire Castle of *Tuncadeck*, *Gingan*, and divers other places in *Britanny* (and their *Brittish Cornwaile*), taking his leave, he tooke his way to *Raynes*, the *Britaines* chiefe Citie, and so to *Nantes*, *Poyters*, *Rochell*, and *Burdeaux*.

The rumour of the strength of *Bayon* in *Biskay*, caused him to see it; and from thence [he] tooke his way from *Leskar* in *Biearne*, and *Paw* in the kingdom of *Navar* to *Tolouza* in *Gascoigne*, *Bezers* and *Carcassone*, *Narbone*, *Montpellier*, *Nimes* in *Languedock*, and thorow the Country of *Avignion*, by *Arles* to *Marcellos* in *Province*.

There imbarking himselfe for *Italy*, the ship was enforced to *Tolonne*; and putting againe to sea, ill weather so grew upon them, they anchored close aboard the shore, under the little Isle of *S. Mary*, against *Neice* in *Savoy*.

[1600-1] An inhumane act of the Provincialls in casting him over-board.

Here the inhumane Provincialls, with a rabble of Pilgrimes of divers Nations going to *Rome*, hourely cursing him, not only for a *Hugonoit*, but his Nation they swore were all Pyrats, and so vildly railed on his dread Soveraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, and that they never should have faire weather so long as hee was aboard them; their disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him over-board: yet God brought him to that little Isle, where was no inhabitants, but a few kine and goats.

The next morning, he espied two ships more riding by them, put in by the storme; that fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him, that he was well contented to trie the rest of his fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former discourse, what for pitie, and the love of the Honourable Earle of *Ployer*, this noble Britaine his neighbour, Captaine *la Roche* of Saint *Malo*, regarded and entertained him for his well respected friend.

Captaine *La Roche* releeves him.

With the next faire wind they sailed along by the Coast of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*; and crossing the gulfe of *Tunis*, passed by *Cape Bona* to the Isle of *Lampadosa*, leaving the coast of *Barbary* till they came at *Cape Rosata*, and so along the *African* shore, for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*.

There delivering their fraught, they went to *Scandaroone*; rather to view what ships was in the Roade, than any thing else: keeping their [**5**] course by *Cypres* and the coast of *Asia*, sayling by *Rhodes*, the *Archipellagans*, *Candia*, and the coast of *Gretia*, and the Isle of *Zaffalonia*.

They lay to and againe a few days betwixt the Isle of *Corfue* and the *Cape* of *Otranto* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, in the Entrance of the *Adriatike* sea.

CHAPTER III.

A desperate Sea-fight in the Straights; His passage to Rome, Naples, *and the view of* Italy.

A desperate sea-fight.

BEtwixt the two *Capes* [*at the entrance of the Adriatic*] they meet with an *Argosie* of *Venice*. It seemed the Captaine desired to speake with them, whose untoward answer was such,

as slew them a man; whereupon the *Britaine* presently gave them the broad-side, then his Sterne, and his other broad-side also, and continued the chase, with his chase peeces, till he gave them so many broad-sides one after another, that the *Argosies* sayles and tackling was so torne, she stood to her defence, and made shot for shot. [1600-1]

Twice in one houre and a halfe the *Britaine* boarded her, yet they cleared themselves: but clapping her aboard againe, the Argosie fired him, which, with much danger to them both, was presently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britaines* rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himselfe againe, [he] shot her so oft betweene wind and water, shee was readie to sinke; then they yeelded; the *Britaine* lost fifteene men, she twentie, besides divers were hurt. The rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the prisoners that were chained, the rest to rifle her. The Silkes, Velvets, Cloth of gold and Tissue, Pyasters Chicqueenes and Sultanies, which is gold and silver, they unloaded in foure and twentie houres, was wonderfull: whereof having sufficient, and tired with toile, they cast her off with her company, with as much good merchandize as would haue fraughted such another *Britaine*, that was but two hundred Tunnes, she foure or five hundred.

To repaire his defects, hee stood for the coast of *Calabria*, but hearing there was six or seven Galleyes at *Mesina*, hee departed thence for *Malta*: but the wind comming faire, he kept his course along the coast of the Kingdome of *Sicilia* by *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, till he came to the Road of *Antibo* [*Antibes*] in *Peamon* [*Piedmont*], where he set *Smith* on shore with fiue hundred chicqueenes [=*about* £225], and a little box God sent him worth neere as much more.

Here he left this noble *Britaine*, and embarked himselfe for *Lygorne*, being glad to have such opportunitie and meanes to better his experience by the view of *Italy*; and having passed *Tuskany*, and the Countrey of *Sieana* (where hee found his deare friends, the two Honourable Brethren, the Lord *Willoughby* and his Brother cruelly wounded, in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honour), then to *Viterbo* and many other Cities, he came to *Rome*: where it was his chance to see Pope *Clement* the eight, with many

[1601] Cardinalls, creepe up the holy Stayres, which they say are those our Saviour Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*, where bloud falling from his head, being pricked with his crowne of thornes, the drops [**6**] are marked with nailes of steele. Upon them none dare goe but in that manner, saying so many *Ave-Maries* and *Paternosters*, as is their devotion, and to kisse the nailes of steele. But on each side is a paire of such like staires, up which you may goe, stand, or kneele; but divided from the holy Staires by two walls: right against them is a Chappell, where hangs a great silver Lampe, which burneth continually, yet they say the oyle neither increaseth nor diminisheth.

The Popes holy Staires brought from *Ierusalem*, whereon (they say) Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*.

A little distant is the ancient Church of Saint *Iohn de Laterane*, where he saw him [*Pope Clement VIII.*] say Masse, which commonly he doth upon some Friday once a moneth.

Having saluted Father *Parsons*, that famous *English* Iesuite, and satisfied himselfe with the rarities of *Rome*, he went downe the River of *Tiber* to *Civita Vechia*; where he embarked himselfe to satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of *Naples*, and her Kingdomes nobilitie.

Returning by *Capua*, *Rome* and *Seana*, he passed by that admired Citie of *Florence*, the Cities and Countries of *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Padua*, and *Venice*, whose Gulfe he passed from *Malamoco* and the *Adriatike* Sea for *Ragouza*, spending some time to see that barren broken coast of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, to *Capo de Istria*, travelling the maine [*i.e.*, *mainland*] of poore *Slavonia* by *Lubbiano*, till he came to *Grates* in *Steria*, the Seat of *Ferdinando* Arch-duke of *Austria*, now [1629] Emperour of *Almania* [*from* 1619 *to* 1637]: where he met an *English* man, and an *Irish* Iesuite; who acquainted him [*made him acquainted*] with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie, especially with the Lord *Ebersbaught*.

With whom trying such conclusions, as he projected to undertake; [he] preferred him to Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Artillery; and he to a worthy Collonell, [*Henry Volda*] the Earle of *Meldritch*: with whom going to *Vienne* in *Austria*, under whose Regiment, in what service, and how he spent his time, this ensuing Discourse will declare.

CHAPTER IV.

The Siege of Olumpagh; *An excellent Stratagem by* Smith; *Another not much worse.*

AFter the losse of *Caniza*, the *Turkes* with twentie thousand besieged the strong Towne of *Olumpagh* so straightly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour; till *Iohn Smith*, this *English* Gentleman, acquainted Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Archdukes Artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy friend, such a Rule, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his answer, would they bring him but to some place where he might make the flame of a Torch seene to the Towne. [1601] The siege of *Olumpagh*.

Kisell inflamed with this strange invention; *Smith* made it so plaine, that forthwith hee gave him guides, who in the darke night brought him to a mountaine, where he shewed three Torches equidistant from other, which plainly appearing to the Towne; the Governour presently apprehended, and answered againe with three other fires in like manner; each knowing the others being and intent; *Smith*, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words: On Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the [7] Alarum, salley you.

Ebersbaught answered he would: and thus it was done.

First he writ his message as briefe, you see, as could be, then divided the Alphabet in two parts thus;

A.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*	*g.*	*h.*	*i.*	*k.*	*l.*
1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.

m.	*n.*	*o.*	*p.*	*q.*	*r.*	*s.*	*t.*	*v.*	*w.*	*x.*
2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.

y.	*z.*
2.	2.

The first part from *A.* to *L.* is signified by shewing and hiding one linke, so oft as there is letters from *A.* to that letter you meane; the other part from *M.* to *Z.* is men- An excellent Stratagem.

[1601] tioned by two lights in like manner. The end of a word is signified by shewing of three lights: ever staying your light at that letter you meane, till the other may write it in a paper, and answer by his signall, which is one light, it is done; beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time from *A.* to *M*: by this meanes also the other returned his answer, whereby each did understand other.

The Guides all this time having well viewed the Campe, returned to *Kisell*, who, doubting of his power being but ten thousand, was animated by the Guides, how the Turkes were so divided by the River in two parts, they could not easily second each other. To which *Smith* added this conclusion; that two or three thousand pieces of match fastened to divers small lines of an hundred fathome in length being armed with powder, might all be fired and stretched at an instant before the Alarum, upon the Plaine of *Hysnaburg*, supported by two staves, at each lines end, in that manner would seeme like so many Musketteers; which was put in practice: and being discovered by the *Turkes*, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had beene some great Armie: whilest *Kisell* with his ten thousand being entred the *Turks* quarter, who ranne up and downe as men amazed.

Another Stratagem.

It was not long ere *Ebersbaught* was pell-mell with them in their Trenches; in which distracted confusion, a third part of the *Turkes*, that besieged that side towards *Knousbruck*, were slaine; many of the rest drowned: but all fled. The other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that *Kisell* before the morning put two thousand good souldiers in the Towne, and with small losse was retired. The Garrison was well releeved with that they found in the *Turkes* quarter, which caused the *Turkes* to raise their siege and returne to *Caniza*: and *Kisell* with much honour was received at *Kerment*; and occasioned the Author a good reward and preferment, to be Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Horse-men, under the Conduct of Colonell *Voldo*, Earle of *Meldritch*. [8]

CHAPTER V.

The siege of Stowlle-wesenburg; *The effects of* Smiths *Fireworkes; A worthy exploit of Earle* Rosworme; *Earle* Meldritch *takes the* Bashaw *prisoner.*

A Generall rumour of a generall peace, now spred it selfe over all the face of those tormented Countries: but the Turke intended no such matter, but levied souldiers from all parts he could. The Emperour also, by the assistance of the *Christian* Princes, provided three Armies: the one led by the Arch-duke *Mathias*, the Emperours brother, and his Lieutenant Duke *Mercury* [*i.e., Philippe Emmanuel de Lorraine, Duke de Mercœur*] to defend Low *Hungary*; the second, by *Ferdinando* the Arch-duke of *Steria*, and the Duke of *Mantua* his Lieutenant to regaine *Caniza*; the third by *Gonzago*, Governour of High *Hungary*, to joyne with *Georgia Busca*, to make an absolute conquest of *Transilvania*. [1601]

The siege of *Alba Regalis.*

Duke *Mercury* with an Armie of thirtie thousand, whereof neere ten thousand were *French*, besieged *Stowlle-wesenburg*, otherwise called *Alba Regalis*; a place so strong by Art and Nature, that it was thought impregnable.

At his first comming, the Turkes sallied upon the *Germane* quarter, slew neere five hundred, and returned before they were thought on.

The next night, in like manner they did neere as much to the *Bemers*, and *Hungarians*; of which fortune still presuming, thinking to have found the *French* quarter as carelesse, eight or nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken prisoners. In this encounter Monsieur *Grandvile*, a brave *French* Colonell, received seven or eight cruell wounds, yet followed the enemie to the Ports; he came off alive, but within three or foure dayes died.

Earle *Meldritch*, by the information of three or foure *Christians* (escaped out of the Towne), [of] upon every Alarum, where there was greatest assemblies and throng of

[1601] The effect of good fire-works.

people, caused Captaine *Smith* to put in practice his fiery Dragons, [which] hee had demonstrated unto him, and the Earle *Von Sulch* at *Comora*: which hee thus performed.

Having prepared fortie or fiftie round-bellied earthen pots, and filled them with hand Gunpowder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimstone and Turpentine; and quartering as many Musket-bullets, that hung together but only at the Center of the division, stucke them round in the mixture about the pots, and covered them againe with the same mixture; over that a strong Searcloth, then over all a good thicknesse of Towze-match well tempered with oyle of Lin-seed, Campheer, and powder of Brimstone: these he fitly placed in Slings, graduated so neere as they could, to the places of these Assemblies.

At midnight upon the Alarum, it was a fearfull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the aire: but presently after their fall, the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered *Turkes* was most wonderfull to heare. Besides, they had fired that Suburbe at the Port of *Buda*, in two or three places; which so troubled the *Turkes* to quench, that had there beene any meanes to have assaulted [**9**] them, they could hardly have resisted the fire, and their enemies.

A worthy exploit of Earle *Rosworme*.

The Earle *Rosworme*, contrary to the opinion of all men, would needs undertake to finde meanes to surprize the Segeth and Suburbe of the Citie, strongly defended by a muddie Lake, which was thought unpassable.

The Duke [*de Mercœur*] having planted his Ordnance, battered the other side, whilest *Rosworme*, in the darke night, with every man a bundle of sedge and bavins still throwne before them, so laded up the Lake, as they surprized that unregarded Suburbe before they were discovered: upon which unexpected Alarum, the *Turkes* fled into the Citie; and the other Suburbe not knowing the matter, got into the Citie also, leaving their Suburbe for the Duke, who with no great resistance, tooke it, with many peeces of Ordnance.

The Citie, being of no such strength as the Suburbs, with their owne Ordnance was so battered, that it was taken perforce, with such a mercilesse execution, as was most pitifull to behold.

The *Bashaw* notwithstanding drew together a partie of five hundred before his owne Pallace, where he intended to die; but seeing most of his men slaine before him, by the valiant Captaine Earl *Meldritch*, who tooke him prisoner with his owne hands; and with the hazard of himselfe saved him from the fury of other troopes, that did pull downe his Pallace, and would have rent him in peeces, had he not beene thus preserved. [1601]

Earle *Meldritch* takes the *Bashaw* prisoner.

The Duke thought his victory much honoured with such a Prisoner; tooke order hee should bee used like a Prince: and with all expedition gave charge presently to repaire the breaches, and the ruines of this famous Citie, that had beene in the possession of the *Turkes* neere threescore yeares.

CHAPTER VI.

A brave encounter of the Turkes *Armie with the* Christians; *Duke* Mercury *overthroweth* Assan Bashaw; *Hee divides the* Christian *Armie*; *His noblenesse and death.*

MAHOMET, the great Turke, during the siege, had raised an Armie of sixtie thousand men to have releeved it; but hearing it was lost, he sent *Assan Bashaw* Generall of his Armie, the *Bashaw* of *Buda Bashaw Amaroz*, to see if it were possible to regaine it; The Duke understanding there could be no great experience in such a new levied Armie as *Assan* had; having put a strong Garrison into it: and with the brave Colonell *Rosworme*, *Culnits*, *Meldritch*, the *Rhinc-Grave*, *Vahan* and many others; [and] with twenty thousand good souldiers, set forward to meet the *Turke* in the Plaines of *Girke*.

Those two Armies encountred as they marched, where began a hot and bloudy Skirmish betwixt them, Regiment against Regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them. Here Earle *Meldritch* was so invironed

A brave encounter of the *Turkes* Armie with the *Christians*.

[1601] amongst those halfe circuler Regiments of *Turkes*, they supposed him their Prisoner, and his Regiment lost; but his two most couragious friends, *Vahan* and *Culnits*, [**10**] made such a passage amongst them, that it was a terror to see how horse and man lay sprawling and tumbling, some one way, some another on the ground. The Earle there at that time made his valour shine more bright than his armour, which seemed then painted with *Turkish* bloud. He slew the brave *Zanzack Bugola*, and made his passage to his friends; but neere halfe his Regiment was slaine.

Captain *Smith* [*who was a Captain in this Cavalry Regiment*] had his horse slaine under him, and himselfe [was] sore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horses that wanted masters.

The *Turke* thinking the victory sure against the Duke, whose Armie, by the Siege, and the Garrison he had left behind him, was much weakened, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and lest the Duke should returne to *Alba Regalis*, he sent that night twenty thousand to besiege the Citie, assuring them he would keepe the Duke or any other from releeving them.

Duke *Mercury* overthroweth *Assan Bassa*.

Two or three dayes they lay each by other, entrenching themselves; the *Turkes* daring the Duke daily to a sett battell, who at length drew out his Army, led by the *Rhine-Grave*, *Culnits* and *Meldritch*: who upon their first encounter, charged with that resolute and valiant courage, as disordered not only the formost squadrons of the *Turkes*, but enforced all the whole Armie to retire to the Campe, with the losse of five or six thousand, with the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, and foure or five *Zanzacks*, with divers other great Commanders, two hundred Prisoners, and nine peeces of Ordnance.

At that instant appeared, as it were, another Armie comming out of a valley over a plaine hill, that caused the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his Trenches; which gave time to *Assan* to reorder his disordered squadrons.

Here they lay nine or ten dayes, and more supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a sett battell; but the souldiers on both parties, by reason of

their great wants and [the] approach of winter, grew so discontented, that they were ready of themselves to breake up the Leager: the Bashaw retiring himselfe to *Buda*, had some of the Reare Troopes cut off. [1601-2]

Amaroz Bashaw hearing of this, found such bad welcome at *Alba Regalis*, and the Towne so strongly repaired, with so brave a Garrison, [that he] raised his siege and retired to *Zigetum*.

The Duke [*de Mercœur*] understanding that the Arch-duke *Ferdinando* had so resolutely besieged *Caniza*, as what by the losse of *Alba Regalis*, and the *Turks* retreat to *Buda*, being void of hope of any reliefe, [he] doubted not but it would become againe the *Christians*. To the furtherance whereof, the Duke divided his Armie into three parts. The Earle of *Rosworme* went with seven thousand to *Caniza*; the Earle of *Meldritch* with six thousand he sent to assist *Georgio Busca* against the *Transilvanians*; the rest went with himselfe to the Garrisons of *Strigonium* and *Komara*: having thus worthily behaved himselfe, he arrived at *Vienne*, where the Arch-dukes and the Nobilitie with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all *Hungaria*; his very Picture they esteemed would make them fortunate, which thousands kept as curiously as a precious relique.

Duke *Mercury* divideth his Armie.

To requite this honour, preparing himselfe to returne into *France*, to raise new Forces against the next yeare, with the two Arch-dukes *Mathias* and *Maximilian* and divers others of the Nobilitie, [he] was with great magnificence [11] conducted to *Nurenburg*, there by them royally feasted: (how it chanced is not knowne;) but the next morning [19 *Feb.* 1602] he was found dead, and his brother in law died two dayes after; whose hearts, after this great triumph, with much sorrow were carried into *France*.

Duke *Mercury* and his brother in law die suddenly.

CHAPTER VII.

The unhappie Siege of Caniza; *Earle* Meldritch *serveth Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses *besiegeth* Regall; Smiths *three single combats*; *His Patent from* Sigismundus, *and reward.*

[1601-2] The unhappie siege of *Caniza.*

THe worthy Lord *Rosworme* had not a worse journey to the miserable Seige of *Caniza,* (where by the extremitie of an extraordinary continuing tempest of haile, wind, frost and snow, in so much that the *Christians* were forced to leave their Tents and Artillery, and what they had; it being so cold that three or foure hundred of them were frozen to death in a night, and two or three thousand lost in that miserable flight in the snowie tempest, though they did know no enemie at all to follow them:) than the noble Earle of *Meldritch* had to *Transilvania*: where hearing of the death of *Michael* [*Vayvode of* Wallachia, *see p.* 847] and the brave Duke *Mercury*, and knowing the policie of *Busca*, and the Prince his Roialtie, being now beyond all beleefe of men, in possession of the best part of *Transilvania*; perswaded his troopes, in so honest a cause, to assist the Prince [*Sigismundus*] against the *Turke*, rather than *Busca* against the Prince.

Earle *Meldritch* serveth Prince *Sigismundus.*

The souldiers being worne out with those hard payes and travells, upon hope to have free libertie to make bootie upon what they could get possession of from the *Turkes*, was easily perswaded to follow him whithersoever. Now this noble Earle [*Meldritch*] was a *Transilvanian* borne, and his fathers Countrey [was] yet inhabited by the *Turkes*; for *Transilvania* was yet in three divisions, though the Prince had the hearts both of Country and people; yet the Frontiers had a Garrison amongst the unpassable mountaines, some for the Emperour, some for the Prince, and some for the *Turke*: to regaine which small estate, hee desired leave of the Prince [*Sigismundus Bátori*] to trie his fortunes, and to make use of that experience, the time of twentie yeares

[1582–1602] had taught him in the Emperours service, promising to spend the rest of his dayes for his countries defence in his Excellencies service. [1602]

The Prince glad of so brave a Commander, and so many expert and ancient souldiers, made him Campe-master of his Armie, gave him all necessary releefe for his troopes, and what freedome they desired to plunder the *Turkes*.

Earle *Meldritch* maketh incursions to discover *Regall*.

The Earle having made many incursions into the Land of *Zarkam* among those rockie mountains, where were some *Turks*, some *Tartars*, but most *Banditoes*, *Rennegadoes*, and such like; which sometimes hee forced into the Plaines of *Regall*: where is a Citie not only of men and fortifications, strong of it selfe; but so environed with mountaines, that made the passages so difficult, that in all these warres no attempt had beene made upon it to any purpose.

Having satisfied himselfe with the Situation, [12] and the most convenient passages to bring his Armie unto it: The earth no sooner put on her greene habit, than the Earle overspread her with his armed troopes. To possesse himselfe first of the most convenient passage, which was a narrow valley betwixt two high mountaines; he sent Colonell *Veltus* with his Regiment, dispersed in companies to lye in *Ambuscado*, as he had directed them; and in the morning to driue all the cattell they could finde before a Fort in that passage, whom he supposed would sally, seeing but some small partie, to recover their prey: which tooke such good successe, that the Garrison was cut off by the *Ambuscado*, and *Veltus* seized on the Skonces, which was abandoned.

Meldritch glad of so fortunate a beginning, it was six dayes ere he could with six thousand Pioners make a passage for his Ordnance. The *Turkes* having such warning, strengthned the Towne so with men and provision, that they made a scorne of so small a number as *Meldritch* brought with him before the Citie, which was but eight thousand.

Before they had pitched their Tents, the *Turkes* sallied in such abundance, as for an houre they had rather a bloudy battell than a skirmish; but with the losse of neere fifteene hundred on both sides. The *Turkes* were chased till the Cities Ordnance caused the Earle to retire.

[1602] *Moyses* besiegeth *Regall.*

The next day *Zachel Moyses*, Generall of the Armie, pitched also his tents with nine thousand foot and horse, and six and twenty peeces of Ordnance; but in regard of the situation of this strong Fortresse, they did neither feare them nor hurt them: being upon the point of a faire promontory, environed on the one side within halfe a mile with an un-usefull mountaine; and on the other side with a faire Plaine, where the *Christians* encamped, but so commanded by their Ordnance, [that] they spent neere a month in entrenching themselves, and raising their mounts to plant their batteries.

Which slow proceedings the *Turkes* oft derided, that the Ordnance were at pawne, and how they grew fat for want of exercise; and fearing lest they should depart ere they could assault their Citie, sent this Challenge to any Captaine in the Armie.

That to delight the Ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord *Turbashaw* did defie any Captaine, that had the command of a Company, who durst combate with him for his head.

The matter being discussed, it was accepted; but so many questions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by lots: which fell upon Captaine *Smith*, before spoken of.

Three single Combates.

1. Truce being made for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the *Christians* in *Battalio*; *Turbashaw* with a noise of Howboyes entred the fields well mounted and armed; on his shoulders were fixed a paire of great wings, compacted of Eagles feathers within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones; a *Ianizary* before him, bearing his Lance; on each side, another leading his horse: where long hee stayed not, ere *Smith* with a noise of Trumpets, only a Page bearing his Lance, passing by him with a courteous salute, tooke his ground with such good successe, that at the sound of the charge, he passed the *Turke* throw the sight of his Beaver, face, head, and all, that he fell dead to the ground; where alighting and unbracing [**13**] his Helmet, [he] cut off his head, and the Turkes tooke his body; and so returned without any hurt at all.

The head hee presented to the Lord *Moses*, the Generall,

who kindly accepted it; and with joy to the whole armie he was generally welcomed. [1602]

2. The death of this Captaine so swelled in the heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed friend, as, rather inraged with madnesse than choller, he directed a particular challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friends head, or lose his owne, with his horse and Armour for advantage: which according to his desire, was the next day undertaken.

As before, upon the sound of the Trumpets, their Lances flew in peeces upon a cleare passage; but the *Turke* was neere unhorsed. Their Pistolls was the next, which marked *Smith* upon the placard; but the next shot the *Turke* was so wounded in the left arme, that being not able to rule his horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground; and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him; with his horse and Armour: but his body and his rich apparell was sent backe to the Towne.

Every day the *Turkes* made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they endure to any purpose. Our workes and approaches being not yet advanced to that height and effect which was of necessitie to be performed; to delude time, *Smith*, with so many incontradictible perswading reasons, obtained leave that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants heads, but if any *Turke* of their ranke would come to the place of combate to redeeme them, [he] should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could winne it.

3. The challenge presently was accepted by *Bonny Mulgro*.

The next day both the Champions entring the field as before, each discharging their Pistoll (having no Lances, but such martiall weapons as the defendant appointed), no hurt was done; their Battle-axes was the next, whose piercing bils made sometime the one, sometime the other to have scarce sense to keepe their saddles: specially the *Christian* received such a blow that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it; whereat the supposing conquering *Turk*, had a great shout from the Rampiers. The *Turk* prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power; yet the other, what by the readinesse of his horse, and his judgement and dexterity in such a businesse, beyond all mens expectation, by

[1602] Gods assistance, not onely avoided the *Turkes* violence, but having drawne his Faulchion, pierced the *Turke* so under the Culets thorow backe and body, that although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done. [14]

CHAPTER VIII.

Georgio Busca *an* Albane *his ingratitude to Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses, *his Lieutenant, is overthrowne by* Busca, *Generall for the Emperour* Rodolphus; Sigismundus *yeeldeth his Countrey to* Rodolphus; Busca *assisteth Prince* Rodoll *in* Wallachia.

THis good successe gave such great encouragement to the whole Armie, that with a guard of six thousand, three spare horses, before each a *Turkes* head upon a Lance, he was conducted to the Generalls Pavillion with his Presents. *Moyses* received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, embracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse richly furnished, a Semitere and belt worth three hundred ducats; and *Meldritch* made him Sergeant major [=*our modern Major*] of his Regiment.

But now to the siege. Having mounted six and twenty peeces of Ordnance fifty or sixty foot above the Plaine, made them so plainly tell his meaning, that within fifteene dayes two breaches were made, which the Turkes as valiantly defended as men could.

That day was made a darksome night, but by the light that proceeded from the murdering Muskets, and peace-making Canon; whilest their slothfull Governour lay in a Castle on the top of a high mountaine, and like a valiant Prince asketh what's the matter, when horrour and death

stood amazed each at other, to see who should prevaile to make him victorious. [1602]

Regall assaulted and taken.

Moyses commanding a generall assault upon the sloping front of the high Promontory, where the Barons of *Budendorfe* and *Oberwin* lost neere halfe their Regiments, by logs, bags of powder, and such like, tumbling downe the hill they were to mount ere they could come to the breach; notwithstanding with an incredible courage they advanced to the push of the Pike with the defendants, that with the like courage repulsed, till the Earle *Meldritch*, *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with their fresh Regiments seconded them with that fury, that the *Turks* retired and fled into the Castle, from whence by a flag of truce they desired composition.

The Earle [*Meldri*] remembring his fathers death, battered it with all the Ordnance in the Towne, and the next day tooke it; all he found [that] could beare Armes he put to the sword, and set their heads upon stakes round about the walles, in the same manner they had used the *Christians*, when they tooke it.

Moyses having repaired the Rampiers, and throwne downe the worke in his Campe, he put in it a strong Garrison, though the pillage he had gotten in the Towne was much, having beene for a long time an impregnable den of theeves: yet the losse of the Armie so intermingled the sowre with the sweet, as forced *Moyses* to seek a further revenge, that he sacked *Veratio*, *Solmos*, and *Kupronka*, and with two thousand prisoners, most[ly] women and children, came to *Esenberg*, not farre from the Princes Palace, where he there Encamped.

Sigismundus comming to view his Armie, was presented with the Prisoners [**15**], and six and thirtie Ensignes; where celebrating thankes to Almightie God in triumph of those victories, hee was made acquainted with the service *Smith* had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stowle-Wesenburg* and *Regall*: for which with great honour hee gave him three *Turkes* heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his Picture [*i.e.*, *Sigismund's portrait*] in Gould, and three hundred Ducats, yearely for a Pension.

[1603]
The Patent.



SIGISMVNDVS BATHORI, *Dei gratia Dux* Transilvaniæ, Wallachiæ, *et* Vandalorum; *Comes* Anchard, Salford, Growenda; *Cunctis his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem* Iohanni Smith, *natione* Anglo *Generoso*, 250. *militum Capitaneo sub Illustrissimi et Gravissimi* Henrici Volda, *Comitis de* Meldri, Salmariæ, *et* Peldoiæ *primario, et* 1000 *equitibus et* 1500. *peditibus bello* Vngarico *conductione in Provincias suprascriptas sub Authoritate nostra: cui servituti omni laude, perpetuaque memoria dignum præbuit sese erga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnantem pro aris et focis decet. Quare è favore nostro militario ipsum ordine condonavimus, et in Sigillum illius tria* Turcia *Capita designare et deprimere concessimus, quæ ipse gladio suo ad Vrbem* Regalem *in singulari prælio vicit, mactavit, atque decollavit in* Transilvaniæ *Provincia.*

[Variations in VINCENT'S *Collectanea*, in the Heralds College, see *p.* xxiv.]

Sed fortuna cum variabilis ancepsque sit idem forte fortuitò in Wallachia *Provincia, Anno Domini* 1602. *die Mensis Novembris* 18.* *cum multis aliis etiam Nobilibus et aliis quibusdam militibus captus est à Domino* Bascha *electo ex* Cambia *regionis* Tartariæ, *cujus severitate adductus salutem quantam potuit quesivit, tantumque effecit, Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberavit se, et ad suos Commilitones revertit; ex quibus ipsum liberavimus, et hæc nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus esset, jam tendet in patriam suam dulcissimam.*

* *Augusti 8vo.*

Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confinitimos, Duces, [1603-25] *Principes, Comites, Barones, Gubernatores* [16] *Vrbium et Navium in eadem Regione et cœterarum Provinciarum in quibus ille residere conatus fuerit ut idem permittatur Capitaneus libere sine obstaculo omni versari. Hæc facientes pergraium nobis feceritis.*

Signatum Lesprizia *in* Misnia *die Mensis Decembris* 9. *Anno Domini* 1603.

Cum Privilegio propriæ Majestatis.

SIGISMVNDVS BATHORI.



VNIVERSIS, *et singulis, cujuscunque loci, status, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit,* Guilielmus Segar *Eques auratus alias dictus** *Garterus Principalis Rex Armorum* Anglicorum, *Salutem.* * *dominus*

Sciatis, *quod Ego prædictus Garterus, notum, testatumque facio, quod Patentem suprascriptum*†, *cum manu propria prædicti Ducis* Transilvaniæ *subsignatum, et Sigillo suo affixum, Vidi: et Copiam veram ejusdem (in perpetuam rei memoriam) transcripsi, et recordavi in Archivis, et Registris Officii Armorum.* † *superadden*

Datum Londini 19. *die Augusti, Anno Domini* 1625. *Annoque Regni Domini nostri* CAROLI *Dei gratia Magnæ* Britanniæ, Franciæ, *et* Hiberniæ *Regis, Fidei Defensoris,* &c. *Primo.*

GVILIELMVS SEGAR, Garterus.

[1603] The same in *English.*

SIGISMVNDVS BATHOR, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, Earle of *Anchard*, *Salford* and *Growenda*; to whom this Writing may come or appeare. Know that We have given leave and licence to *Iohn Smith* an *English* Gentleman, Captaine of 250. Souldiers, under the most Generous and Honourable *Henry* [17] *Volda*, Earle of *Meldritch*, *Salmaria*, and *Peldoia*, Colonell of a thousand horse, and fifteene hundred foot, in the warres of *Hungary* and in the Provinces aforesaid under our authority; whose service doth deserve all praise and perpetuall memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his Country overcome his enemies: Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Armes, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Armes, the figure and description of three *Turks* heads, which with his sword, before the towne of *Regall*, in single combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of *Transilvania*.

But fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the Province of *Wallachia*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1602. the 18. day of November, [when he] with many others, as well Noble men, as also divers other Souldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord *Bashaw* of *Cambia*, a Country of *Tartaria*: whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the helpe and power of Almighty God, that hee delivered himselfe, and returned againe to his company and fellow souldiers; of whom We doe discharge him, and this hee hath in witnesse thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to returne to his owne sweet Country.

We desire therefore all our loving and kinde kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earles, Barons, Governours of Townes, Cities, or Ships, in this Kingdome, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let passe this the aforesaid Captaine, without any hinderance or molestation: and this doing, with all kindnesse we are alwayes ready to doe the like for you.

Sealed at *Lipswick* in *Misenland*, the ninth of December, [1603-25] in the yeare of our Lord, 1603.

SIGISMVNDVS
BATHOR.

With the proper privilege of his Majestie.

TO all and singular, in what place, state, degree, order, or condition whatsoever, to whom this present writing shall come: I *William Segar* Knight, otherwise Garter, and principall King of Armes of *England*, with health. Know that I the aforesaid Garter, do witnesse and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seene, signed and sealed under the proper hand [18] and Seale Manual of the said Duke of *Transilvania*; and a true coppy of the same, as a thing for perpetuall memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the Register and office of the Heralds of Armes.

Dated at London the nineteenth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1625. and in the first yeare of our Soueraigne Lord *Charles* by the grace of God, King of great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR.

CHAPTER IX.

Sigismundus *sends Ambassadours vnto the Emperour; the conditions re-assured, He yeeldeth up all to* Busca, *and returneth to* Prague.

BVsca having all this time beene raising new forces, was commanded from the Emperour againe to invade *Transilvania*, which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those parts, was now rather a desart, or the very spectacle of desolation; their fruits and fields overgrowne with weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces and best

[1602] buildings, as for feare, hid with Mosse and Ivy: being the very Bulwarke and Rampire of a great part of *Europe*, most fit by all Christians to have beene supplyed and maintained, was thus brought to ruine by them it most concerned to support it.

But alas, what is it, when the power of Majestie pampered in all delights of pleasant vanity, neither knowing nor considering the labour of the Ploughman, the hazard of the Merchant, the oppression of Statesmen; nor feeling the piercing torments of broken limbes, and inveterated wounds, the toilsome marches, the bad lodging, the hungry diet, and the extreme misery that Souldiers endure to secure all those estates, and yet by the spight of malicious detraction, starves for want of their reward and recompences; whilst the politique Courtier, that commonly aimes more at his owne honors and ends than his Countries good, or his Princes glory, honour, or security, as this worthy Prince too well could testifie.

But the Emperor being certified how weak and desperate his estate was, sent *Busca* againe with a great Army, to trie his fortune once more in *Transilvania*.

ThePrince considering how his Country and subjects were consumed; the small means he had any longer to defend his estate, both against the cruelty of the *Turke*, and the power of the Emperor, and the small care the *Polanders* had in supplying him, as they had promised; sent to *Busca* to have truce, till messengers might be sent to the Emperour for some better agreement: wherewith *Busca* was contented. The Ambassadours so prevailed, that the Emperour re-assured vnto them the conditions he had promised the Prince at their confederacie, for the lands in *Silesia*, with 60000. ducats presently in hand, and 50000. ducats yearely as a pension.

Busca in *Transilvania* overthroweth *Moyses*.

When this conclusion was [19] knowne to *Moyses* his Lieftenant then in the field with the Army, that would doe anything rather than come in subjection to the *Germans*; he encouraged his Souldiers, and without any more adoe marched to encounter *Busca*, whom he found much better provided than he expected: so that betwixt them in six or seven houres, more than five or six thousand on both sides lay dead in the field. *Moyses* thus

overthrowne, fled to the *Turks* at *Temesware*; and his scattered troopes some one way, some another. [1602]

The Prince vnderstanding of this so sudden and unexpected accident, onely accompanied with an hundred of his Gentry and Nobility, went into the campe to *Busca*, to let him know how ignorant he was of his Lieftenants errour, that had done it without his direction or knowledge, freely offering to performe what was concluded by his Ambassadours with the Emperour; and so causing all his Garrisons to come out of their strong holds, he delivered all to *Busca* for the Emperour, and so went to *Prague*: where he was honourably receiued, and established in his possessions, as his Emperiall Majestie had promised.

Sigismundus yeeldeth his country to *Busca*.

Busca assembling all the Nobility, tooke their oaths of allegeance and fidelity; and thus their Prince being gone, *Transilvania* became againe subject to the Emperour.

Now after the death of *Michael*, Vavoyd of *Wallachia* [*p.* 836], the *Turke* sent one *Ieremie* to be their Vavoyd or Prince; whose insulting tyranny caused the people to take Armes against him, so that he was forced to flie into the confines of *Moldavia*; and *Busca* in the behalfe of the Emperour, proclaimed the Lord *Rodoll* in his stead.

Busca assisteth *Rodoll* in *Wallachia*.

But *Ieremy* having assembled an Army of forty thousand *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moldavians*, returned into *Wallachia*.

Rodoll not yet able to raise such a power, fled into *Transilvania* to *Busca*, his ancient friend; who considering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his owne security to have *Wallachia* subject to the Emperour, or at least such an employment for the remainders of the old Regiments of *Sigismundus*, (of whose greatnesse and true affection hee was very suspitious,) sent them with *Rodoll* to recover *Wallachia*, conducted by the valiant Captaines, the Earle *Meldritch*, Earle *Veltus*, Earle *Nederspolt*, Earle *Zarvana*, the Lord *Bechlefield*, the Lord *Budendorfe*, with their Regiments, and divers others of great ranke and quality, the greatest friends and alliances the Prince had; who with thirty thousand, marched along by the river *Altus*, to the streights [*pass*] of *Rebrinke*, where they entred *Wallachia*, encamping at *Raza*

[1602] *Ieremie* lying at *Argish*, drew his Army into his old campe, in the plaines of *Peteske*, and with his best diligence fortified it; intending to defend himselfe till more power came to him from the *Crym-Tartar*.

Many small parties that came to his campe, *Rodoll* cut off; and in the nights would cause their heads to be throwne vp and downe before the trenches. Seven of their Porters were taken, whom *Ieremie* commanded to be flayed quicke; and after hung their skinnes vpon poles, and their carkasses and heads on stakes by them. [**20**]

CHAPTER X.

The battell of Rotenton; *a pretty stratagem of fire-works by* Smith.

Rodoll not knowing how to draw the enemie to battell, raised his Armie, burning and spoyling all where he came, and returned againe towards *Rebrinke* in the night, as if he had fled vpon the generall rumour of the *Crym-Tartars* comming; which so inflamed the *Turkes* of a happy victory, they vrged *Ieremy* against his will to follow them.

A battell betwixt *Rodoll* and *Ieremie*.

Rodoll seeing his plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the streights, he put his Army in order, that had beene neere two dayes pursued, with continuall skirmishes in his Reare, which now making head against the enemie, that followed with their whole Armie in the best manner they could, was furiously charged with six thousand *Hydukes*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavians*, led by three Colonells, *Oversall*, *Dubras*, and *Calab*, to entertaine the time till the rest came up. *Veltus* and *Nederspolt* with their Regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the *Zanzacke Hamesbeg*, with six thousand more, came with a fresh charge: which *Meldritch* and *Budendorfe*, rather like enraged lions than men, so bravely encountred, as if in them only had consisted the

victory; *Meldritchs* horse being slaine vnder him. The *Turks* pressed what they could to have taken him prisoner; but being remounted, it was thought with his owne hand he slew the valiant *Zanzache*: whereupon his troopes retyring, the two proud *Bashawes*, *Aladin* and *Zizimmus*, brought up the front of the body of their battell. [1602]

Veltus and *Nederspolt* having breathed, and joyning their troopes with *Beckleficld* and *Zarvana*, with such an incredible courage charged the left flancke of *Zizimmus*, as put them all in disorder; where *Zizimmus* the *Bashaw* was taken prisoner, but died presently upon his wounds.

Ieremie seeing now the maine battell of *Rodoll* advance, being thus constrained, like a valiant Prince in his front of the Vantgard, by his example so brauely encouraged his souldiers, that *Rodoll* found no great assurance of the victorie.

Thus being joyned in this bloudy massacre, that there was scarce ground to stand upon, but upon the dead carkasses; which in lesse than an hower were so mingled, as if each Regiment had singled out [the] other.

The admired *Aladin* that day did leave behinde him a glorious name for his valour; whose death many of his enemies did lament after the victory, which at that instant fell to *Rodoll*.

It was reported *Ieremie* was also slaine, but it was not so; but [he] fled with the remainder of his Armie to *Moldavia*, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the field, of both Armies.

And thus *Rodoll* was seated againe in his Soueraignty, and *Wallachia* became subject to the Emperour. *Wallachia* subjected to the Emperour.

But long he rested not to settle his new estate, but there came newes, that certaine Regiments of stragling *Tartars*, were forraging those parts towards *Moldavia*.

Meldritch with thirteene thousand men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the *Crym-Tartar* and his two [**21**] sonnes, with an Armie of thirty thousand; and [that] *Ieremie*, that had escaped with fourteene or fifteene thousand, lay in ambush for them about *Langanaw*; he retired towards *Rottenton*, a strong garrison for *Rodoll*: but they were so invironed with these hellish numbers,

[1602] they could make no great haste, for skirmishing with their scouts, forragers, and small parties that still encountred them. But one night amongst the rest, having made a passage through a wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting trees thwart each other to hinder their passage, in a thicke fogge early in the morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with pillage, and two or three hundred horse and cattell; the most of them were slaine and taken prisoners, who told them where *Ieremie* lay in the passage, expecting the *Crym-Tartar* that was not farre from him.

Meldritch intending to make his passage perforce, was advised of a pretty stratagem by the English *Smith*, which presently he thus accomplished; for having accommodated two or three hundred truncks with wilde fire, vpon the heads of lances, and charging the enemie in the night, gave fire to the truncks, which blazed forth such flames and sparkles, that it so amazed not onely their horses, but their foot also; that by the meanes of this flaming encounter, their owne horses turned tailes with such fury, as by their violence overthrew *Ieremy* and his Army, without any losse at all to speak of to *Meldritch*.

But of this victory long they triumphed not; for being within three leagues of *Rottenton*, the *Tartar* with neere forty thousand so beset them, that they must either fight, or be cut in peeces flying.

Here *Busca* and the Emperour had their desire; for the Sunne no sooner displayed his beames, than the *Tartar* his colours; where at midday he stayed a while, to see the passage of a tyrannicall and treacherous imposture, till the earth did blush with the bloud of honesty, that the Sunne for shame did hide himselfe from so monstrous sight of a cowardly calamity. It was a most brave sight to see the banners and ensignes streaming in the aire, the glittering of Armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the forrests of lances, and the thicknesse of shorter weapons, till the silent expedition of the bloudy blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as felt by the aymed at object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

CHAPTER XI.

The names of the English *that were slaine in the battell of* Rottenton ; *and how Captaine* Smith *is taken prisoner ; and sold for a slave.*

IN the valley of *Veristhorne*, betwixt the riuer of *Altus*, and the mountaine of *Rottenton*, was this bloudy encounter, where the most of the dearest friends of the noble Prince *Sigismundus* perished [*on* 18 *Nov.* 1602, *see p.* 842]. [1602]

The battell of *Rottenton.*

Meldritch having ordered his eleuen thousand in the best manner he could: at the foot of the mountaine upon his flancks, and before his front, he had pitched [22] sharpe stakes, their heads hardned in the fire, and bent against the enemie, as three battalion of Pikes; amongst the which also there was digged many small holes. Amongst those stakes was ranged his footmen, that upon the charge was to retire, as there was occasion.

The *Tartar* having ordered his 40000. for his best advantage, appointed *Mustapha Bashaw* to beginne the battell, with a generall shout, all their Ensignes displaying, Drummes beating, Trumpets and Howboyes sounding.

Nederspolt and *Mavazo* with their Regiments of horse most valiantly encountred, and forced them to retire. The *Tartar Begolgi* with his Squadrons, darkening the skies with their flights of numberless arrowes, who was as bravely encountred by *Veltus* and *Oberwin* ; which bloudie slaughter continued more than an houre, till the matchlesse multitude of the *Tartars* so increased, that they retired within their Squadrons of stakes, as was directed.

The bloudy *Tartar*, as scorning he should stay so long for the victorie, with his massie troopes prosecuted the charge: but it was a wonder to see how horse and man came to the ground among the stakes, whose disordered troopes were there so mangled, that the *Christians* with a loud shout cryed *Victoria* ; and with five or six field peeces, planted vpon the rising of the mountaine, did much hurt to the enemy that still continued the battell with that furie, that *Meldritch*

[1602] seeing there was no possibilitie long to preuaile, ioyned his small troopes in one body, resolued directly to make his passage or die in the conclusion; and thus in grosse gaue a generall charge, and for more than halfe an houre made his way plaine before him, till the maine battel of the *Crym-Tartar* with two Regiments of *Turkes* and *Ianizaries* so overmatched them, that they were overthrowen.

The night approaching, the Earle with some thirteene or [*pp.* 842, 869.] foureteene hundred horse, swamme the River; some were drowned, all the rest slaine or taken prisoners.

And thus in this bloudy field, neere 30000. lay; some headlesse, armlesse, and leglesse, all cut and mangled: where breathing their last, they gaue this knowledge to the world, that for the liues of so few, the *Crym-Tartar* neuer paid dearer.

Extracted out of a Booke intituled, The warres of *Hungary*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, written by *Francisco Ferneza*, a learned Italian, the Princes Secretarie, and translated by Master *Purchas*.

But now the Countreyes of *Transilvania* and *Wallachia*, (subjected to the Emperour) and *Sigismundus* that brave Prince his Subject and Pensioner, the most of his Nobilitie, brave Captaines and Souldiers, became a prey to the cruell devouring *Turke:* where[as] had the Emperor been as ready to have assisted him, and those three Armies led by three such worthy Captaines, as *Michael*, *Busca*, and Himselfe; and had those three Armies joyned together against the *Turke*, let all men judge, how happie it might have beene for all Christendome: and have either regained *Bulgaria*; or at least have beat him out of *Hungaria*, where hee hath taken much more from the Emperour, than hath the Emperour from *Transilvania*.

The English men in this Battell.

In this dismall battell, where *Nederspolt*, *Veltus*, *Zarvana*, *Mavazo*, *Bavell*, and many other Earles, Barons, Colonels, Captaines, brave Gentlemen and Souldiers were slaine, Give mee leave to remember the names of our owne Country-men with him in those exploits, that as resolutely as the best, in the defence of *Christ* and his Gospell, ended their dayes, as *Baskerfield*, *Hardwicke*, *Thomas Milemer*, *Robert Mullineux*, [**23**] *Thomas Bishop*, *Francis Compton*, *George Davison*, *Nicholas Williams*, and one *John* a Scot, did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their bodies, in testimonie of their mindes; only Ensigne *Carleton* [*pp.* 231, 692], and Sergeant *Robinson* [*pp.* 230, 691] escaped.

But *Smith* among the slaughtered dead bodies, and many [1602-3]
a gasping soule, with toile and wounds lay groaning among the rest, till being found by the Pillagers hee was able to live; and perceiving by his armor and habit, his ransome might be better to them than his death, they led him prisoner with many others.

Well they used him till his wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all sold for slaves, like beasts in a market-place; where everie Merchant, viewing their limbs and wounds, caused other slaves to struggle with them, to trie their strength.

Hee fell to the share of *Bashaw Bogall*, who sent him forthwith to *Adri[a]nopolis*, so for *Constantinople* to his faire Mistresse for a slave.

By twentie and twentie chained by the neckes, they marched in file to this great Citie; where they were delivered to their severall Masters, and he to the young *Charatza Tragabigzanda* [*pp.* 204, 206, 232, 276, 720, 855, 866].

CHAPTER XII.

How Captaine Smith *was sent prisoner thorow the* Blacke *and* Dissabacca *Sea in Tartaria; the description of those Seas, and his usage.*

THis Noble Gentlewoman tooke sometime occasion to shew him to some friends; or rather to speake with him; because shee could speake Italian, would feigne her selfe sick when she should goe to the *Banians*, or weepe over the graves, to know how *Bogall* tooke him prisoner; and if he were, as the *Bashaw* writ to her, a *Bohemian* Lord conquered by his hand, as hee had many others; which ere long hee would present her, whose ransomes should adorne her with the glorie of his conquests.

But when she heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor ever saw *Bogall* till he bought him at *Axopolis*; and that hee was an *English-man*, onely by his adventures made a Captaine in those Countreyes. To trie the truth,

[1603] shee found means to finde out many [who] could speake English, French, Dutch, and Italian, to whom relating most part of these former passages [as] he thought necessarie, which they so honestly reported to her, she tooke (as it seemed) much compassion on him; but having no use for him, lest her mother should sell him, she sent him to her brother, the *Tymor Bashaw* of *Nalbrits*, in the Countrey of *Cambia*, a Province in *Tartaria*.

How he was sent into *Tartaria*.

Here now let us remember his passing in this speculative course from *Constantinople* by *Sander*, *Screwe*, *Panassa*, *Musa*, *Lastilla*, to *Varna*, an ancient Citie upon the Blacke Sea. In all which journey, having little more libertie than his eyes judgement since his captivitie, he might see the Townes with their short Towers, and a most plaine, fertile, and delicate [**24**] Countrey, especially that most admired place of *Greece*, now called *Romania*; but from *Varna* nothing but the Blacke Sea water, till he came to the two Capes of *Taur* and *Pergilos*, where hee passed the Straight of *Niger*, which (as he conjectured) is some ten leagues long, and three broad, betwixt two low lands. The Channell is deepe, but at the entrance of the Sea *Dissabacca*, their are many great Osie-shoulds, and many great blacke rockes: which the *Turkes* said were trees, weeds, and mud, throwen from the in-land Countryes, by the inundations and violence of the Current; and cast there by the Eddy. They sayled by many low Iles, and saw many more of those muddy rockes, and nothing else but salt water, till they came betwixt *Susax* and *Curuske*, only two white townes at the entrance of the river *Bruapo* appeared.

The description of the *Dissabacca* Sea.

In six or seven dayes saile, he saw foure or five seeming strong castles of stone, with flat tops and battlements about them; but arriving at *Cambia*, he was (according to their custome) well used. The river was there more than halfe a mile broad. The Castle was of a large circumference, foureteene or fifteene foot thicke, in the foundation some six foot from the wall, is a Paliizado, and then a Ditch of about fortie foot broad full of water. On the west side of it, is a Towne all of low flat houses; which as he conceived could bee of no great strength, yet it keepes all them barbarous Countreyes about it in admiration and subjection.

After he had stayed there three dayes; it was two dayes more before his guides brought him to *Nalbrits*, where the *Tymor* then was resident, in a great vast stonie Castle with many great Courts about it, invironed with high stone wals, where was quartered their Armes, when they first subjected those Countreyes: which onely live to labour for those tyrannicall *Turkes*. [1603]

To her unkinde brother, this kinde Ladie writ so much for his good usage, that hee halfe suspected, as much as she intended; for shee told him, he should there but sojourne to learne the language, and what it was to be a *Turke*, till time made her Master of her selfe. *Smith* his usage in *Tartaria*. [*pp.* 204, 206, 232, 276, 720, 853, 866.]

But the *Tymor*, her brother, diverted all this to the worst of crueltie, for within an houre after his arrivall, he caused his *Drub-man* to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand: a great ring of iron, with a long stalke bowed like a sickle, [was] rivetted about his necke, and a coat [put on him] made of Vlgries haire, guarded about with a peece of an undrest skinne.

There were many more Christian slaves, and neere an hundred *Forsados* of *Turkes* and *Moores*; and he [*i.e.*, *Smith*] being the last, was slave of slaves to them all. Among these slavish fortunes there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure: and yet for all their paines and labours [they were] no more regarded than a beast.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Turkes *diet*; *the Slaves diet*; *the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of Warres and Religions, &c.*

THe *Tymor* and his friends fed upon Pillaw, which is boiled Rice and Garnances, with little bits of mutton or Buckones (which is rosted [25] peeces of Horse, Bull, Vlgrie, or any beasts). *Samboyses* and *Muselbits* are great dainties, and yet but round The *Tymors* diet of *Cambia* is as the *Turkes*.

[1603] pies, full of all sorts of flesh they can get chopped with varietie of herbs. Their best drinke is *Coffa*, of a graine they call *Coava*, boiled with water; and *Sherbecke* which is only honey and water: Mares milke, or the milke of any beast, they hold restorative; but all the Comminaltie drinke pure water. Their bread is made of this *Coava*, which is a kinde of blacke wheat, and *Cuskus* a small white seed like *Millya* in *Biskay*: but our common victuall, [was] the entrailes of Horse and Vlgries. Of this, cut in small peeces, they will fill a great Cauldron, and being boiled with *Cuskus*, and put in great bowles in the forme of chaffing-dishes; they sit round about it on the ground, after they haue raked it thorow so oft as they please with their foule fists: the remainder was for the *Christian* slaves. Some of this broth they would temper with *Cuskus* pounded, and putting the fire off from the hearth, powre there a bowle full, then cover it with coales till it be baked; which stewed with the remainder of the broth, and some small peeces of flesh, was an extraordinarie daintie.

The Slaves diet.

The Attire of those *Tartars*.

The better sort are attired like *Turkes*, but the plaine *Tartar* hath a blacke sheepe skinne over his backe, and two of the legs tied about his necke; the other two about his middle, with another over his belly, and the legs tied in the like manner behinde him: then two more made like a paire of bases, serveth him for breeches; with a little close cap to his skull, of blacke felt; and they use exceeding much of this felt, for carpets, for bedding, for Coats, and Idols.

Their houses are much worse than your *Irish*, but the In-land Countreyes have none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Countrey to Countrey, as they see occasion: driving with them infinite troopes of blacke sheepe, Cattell and Vlgries, eating all vp before them as they goe.

The *Tartars* of *Nagi* and their manners.

For the *Tartars* of *Nagi*, they have neither Towne, nor house, corne, nor drinke; but flesh and milke. The milke they keepe in great skinnes like *Burracho's*; which though it be never so sower, it agreeth well with their strong stomackes. They live all in *Hordias*, as doth the *Crim-Tartars*, three or foure hundred in a company, in great Carts fifteene or sixteene foot broad; which is covered with

small rods, wattled together in the forme of a birds nest turned upwards: and with the ashes of bones tempered with oile, Camels haire, and a clay [that] they have; they lome them so well, that no weather will pierce them, and yet [they are] verie light. [1603]

Each *Hordia* hath a *Murse*, which they obey as their King. Their Gods are infinite. One or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawen with Camels, Deere, Buls, and Vlgries, they bring round in a ring, where they pitch their Campe; and the *Murse*, with his chiefe alliances, are placed in the midst.

They doe much hurt when they can get any *Stroggs*, which are great boats used upon the river *Volga*, (which they call *Edle*) to them that dwell in the Countrey of *Perolog*; and would doe much more, were it not for the *Muscovites* Garrisons that there inhabit. [**26**]

CHAPTER XIIII.

The description of the Crym-Tartars; *their houses and carts*; *their Idolatry in their lodgings.*

NOw you are to understand, *Tartary* and *Scythia* are all one; but so large and spacious, few or none could ever perfectly describe it; nor all the severall kinds of those most barbarous people that inhabit it. Those we call the *Crym-Tartars*, [which] border upon *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, *Lituania*, and *Russia*, are much more regular than the interior parts of *Scthia*. The description of the *Crym-Tartars* Court.

This great *Tartarian* Prince, that hath so troubled all his neighbours, they always call *Chan*, which signifieth Emperour; but we, the *Crym-Tartar*. He liveth for most part in the best champion plaines of many Provinces; and his removing Court is like a great Citie of houses and tents, drawne on Carts, all so orderly placed East and West, on the right and left hand of the Prince his house, which is alwayes in the midst towards the South: before which none may pitch their houses, every one knowing their order and quarter, as in an Armie. The Princes

[1603] houses are very artificially wrought, both the foundation, sides, and roofe of wickers, ascending round to the top like a Dove-coat; this they cover with white felt, or white earth tempered with the powder of bones, that it may shine the whiter; sometimes with blacke felt, curiously painted with vines, trees, birds, and beasts. The breadth of the Carts are eighteene or twenty foot, but the house stretcheth foure or five foot over each side, and is drawne with ten or twelve, or for more state, twenty Camels and Oxen. They have also great baskets, made of smaller wickers like great chests, with a covering of the same, all covered over with blacke felt, rubbed over with tallow and sheeps milke to keepe out the raine; prettily bedecked with painting or feathers: in those they put their household stuffe and treasure, drawne upon other carts for that purpose.

His houses and carts.

Baskets.

When they take downe their houses, they set the doore alwayes towards the South; and their carts thirtie or fortie foot distant on each side, East and West, as if they were two walls: the women also have most curious carts; every one of his wives hath a great one for herselfe, and so many other for her attendants, that they seeme as many Courts, as he hath wives. One great *Tartar* or Nobleman, will have for his particular, more than an hundred of those houses and carts, for his severall offices and uses; but set so farre from each other, they will seeme like a great village.

Having taken their houses from the carts, they place the Master alwayes towards the North; over whose head is alwayes an Image like a Puppet, made of felt, which they call his brother; the women on his left hand, and over the chiefe Mistris her head, such another brother; and betweene them a little one, which is the keeper of the house; at the good wives beds-feet is a kids skinne, stuffed with wooll, and neere it a Puppet looking towards the Maids; next the doore another, with a dried cowes udder, for the women that milke the kine, because only the men milke mares.

Their idolatrie in their lodgings.

Every morning, those [27] Images in their orders they besprinkle with that they drinke, bee it Cossmos, or whatsoever; but all the white mares milke is reserved for the

Cossmos is Mares milke.

Prince. Then without the doore, thrice to the South, every one bowing his knee in honour of the fire; then the like to the East, in honour of the aire; then to the West, in honour of the water; and lastly to the North, in behalfe of the dead. After the servant hath done this duty to the foure quarters of the world, he returnes into the house; where his fellowes stand waiting, ready with two cups and two basons to give their master, and his wife that lay with him that night, to wash and drinke, who must keepe him company all the day following: and all his other wives come thither to drinke, where hee keepes his house that day; and all the gifts presented him till night, are laid vp in her chests; and at the doore a bench full of cups, and drinke for any of them to make merry. [1603]

CHAPTER XV.

Their feasts; common diet; Princes estate; buildings; tributes; lawes; slaves; entertainment of Ambassadours.

Their feasts.

FOr their feasts they have all sorts of beasts, birds, fish, fruits, and hearbs they can get, but the more variety of wilde ones is the best; to which they have excellent drinke made of rice, millit, and honey, like wine; they have also wine, but in Summer they drinke most[ly] Cossmos, that standeth ready alwayes at the entrance of the doore, and by it a fidler. When the master of the house beginneth to drinke, they all cry, ha, ha, and the fidler playes; then they all clap their hands and dance, the men before their Masters, the women before their Mistresses: and ever when he drinks, they cry as before; then the fidler stayeth till they drinke all round. Sometimes they will drinke for the victory; and to provoke one to drinke, they will pull him by the ears, and lugge and draw him, to stretch and heat him, clapping their hands, stamping with their feet, and dancing before

[1603] the champions, offering them cups, then draw them backe againe to increase their appetite: and thus continue till they be drunke, or their drinke done, which they hold an honour, and no infirmity.

Their common diet. Though the ground be fertile, they sow little corne, yet the Gentlemen have bread and hony-wine; grapes they have plenty, and wine privately, and good flesh and fish; but the common sort [drink] stamped millit, mingled with milke and water. They call Cassa for meat, and drinke any thing; also any beast unprofitable for service they kill, when they are like to die, or however they die, they will eat them, guts liver and all: but the most fleshy parts they cut in thinne slices, and hang it up in the Sunne and wind without salting, where it will dry so hard, it will not putrifie in a long time. A Ramme they esteeme a great feast among forty or fiftie, which they cut in peeces boiled or roast; puts it in a great bowle with salt and water, for other sauce they have none: the master of the feast [28] giveth every one a peece; which he eateth by himselfe, or carrieth away with him.

How they become populous. Thus their hard fare makes them so infinite in Cattell; and their great number of captived women to breed vpon, makes them so populous.

But neere the Christian frontiers, the baser sort make little cottages of wood, called *Vlusi*, daubed over with durt and beasts dung, covered with sedge. Yet in Summer they leave them, beginning their progresse in Aprill, with their wives, children, and slaves, in their carted houses, scarce convenient for foure or five persons; driving their flocks towards *Perecopya*, and sometimes into *Taurica*, or *Osow*, a towne upon the river *Tanais*, which is great and swift, where the Turke hath a garrison: and in October returne againe to their Cottages.

Their Clothes are the skinnes of dogges, goats, and sheepe, lined with cotten cloath, made of their finest wooll: for of their worst they make their felt, which they use in aboundance, as well for shooes and caps, as houses, beds, and Idolls; also of the coarse wooll mingled with horse haire, they make all their cordage.

Their Princes state. Notwithstanding this wandring life, their Princes sit in great state upon beds, or carpits; and with great reverence

are attended both by men and women, and richly served in plate, and great silver cups, delivered upon the knee, attired in rich furres, lined with plush, or taffity, or robes of tissue. These *Tartars* possesse many large and goodly plaines, wherein feed innumerable herds of horse and cattell, as well wilde as tame; which are Elkes, Bisones, Horses, Deere, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Beares, and divers others. [1603]

Ancient buildings.

In those countries are the ruines of many faire Monasteries, Castles, and Cities, as *Bacasaray*, *Salutium*, *Almassary*, *Perecopya*, *Cremum*, *Sedacom*, *Capha*, and divers others by the Sea, but all kept with strong garrisons for the great *Turke*, who yearely by trade or trafficke, receiveth the chiefe commodities those fertile countries afford, as Bezer, Rice, Furres, Hides, Butter, Salt, Cattell, and Slaves; yet by the spoiles they get from the secure and idle *Christians*, they maintaine themselves in this Pompe. Also their wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very costly, yet in a constant custome with decency.

Commodities for tribute to the *Turke*.

Good lawes, yet no lawyers.

They are *Mahometans*, as are the *Turks*, from whom also they have their Lawes; but no Lawyers, nor Attournies, onely Iudges, and Iustices in every Village, or Hordia: but capitall criminalls, or matters of moment, before the Chan himselfe, or Priuie Counsells, of whom they are alwayes heard, and speedily discharged. For any may have accesse at any time to them, before whom they appeare with great reverence, adoring their Princes as Gods, and their spirituall Iudges as Saints; for Iustice is with such integrity and expedition executed, without covetousnesse, bribery, partiality, and brawling, that in six moneths they have sometimes scarce six causes to heare. About the Princes court none but his guard weares any weapon; but abroad they goe very strong, because there are many bandytos, and Theeves.

Their slaves.

They use the *Hungarians*, *Russians*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavian* slaves (whereof they have plenty) as beasts to every worke: and those *Tartars* that serve the Chan, or noblemen, have only victuall and apparell; the rest are generally nasty, and idle, naturally miserable, and in their warres, better theeves than souldiers. [29]

This *Chan* hath yeerely a Donative from the King of

[1603] His entertainment of Ambassadours.

Poland, the Dukes of *Lituania*, *Moldavia*, and *Nagagon Tartars*; their Messengers commonly he useth bountifully, and verie nobly, but sometimes most cruelly.

When any of them doth bring their Presents, by his houshold Officers they are entertained in a plaine field, with a moderate proportion of flesh, bread and wine, for once; but when they come before him, the *Sultaines*, *Tuians*, *Vlans*, *Markies*, his chiefe Officers and Councellors attend. One man only bringeth the Ambassadour to the Court gate, but to the *Chan* he is led betweene two Councellors; where saluting him upon their bended knees, declaring their message, [they] are admitted to eat with him, and presented with a great silver cup full of Mead from his owne hand, but they drinke it upon their knees.

When they are dispatched, he invites them againe. The feast ended, they go backe a little from the Palace doore; and [are] rewarded with silke vestures wrought with gold downe to their anckles, with an horse or two, and sometimes a slave of their owne Nation.

In them [*those*] robes presently they come to him againe, to give him thankes, take their leave, and so depart.

CHAPTER XVI.

How he levieth an Armie; their Armes and Provision; how he divideth the spoile; and his service to the Great Turke.

How he levieth an Armie.

When he intends any warres, he must first have leave of the Great *Turke*, whom hee is bound to assist when hee commandeth; receiving daily for himselfe and chiefe of his Nobilitie, pensions from the *Turke*, that holds all Kings but slaves that pay tribute or are subject to any: signifying his intent to all his subjects, within a moneth commonly he raiseth his Armie, and everie man is to furnish himselfe for three moneths victuals; which is parched Millit, or grownd to

meale, which they ordinarily mingle with water (as is said), hard cheese or cruds dried and beaten to powder, a little will make much water like milke, and dried flesh, this they put also up in sackes. [1603]

The *Chan* and his Nobles have some bread and *Aquavitæ*, and quicke [*live*] cattell to kill when they please, wherewith verie sparingly they are contented.

Being provided with expert Guides, and got into the Countrey he intends to invade; he sends forth his Scouts to bring in what prisoners they can, from whom he will wrest the utmost of their knowledge fit for his purpose: having advised with his Councell, what is most fit to be done, the Nobilitie, according to their antiquitie, doth march; then moves he with his whole Armie. If hee finde there is no enemie to oppose him, he adviseth how farre they shall invade: commanding everie man (upon paine of his life) to kill all the obvious Rusticks; but not to hurt any women, or children.

The manner of his warres.

Ten, or fifteene thousand, he commonly placeth, where hee findeth most convenient for his standing Campe; the rest of his Armie hee divides [**30**] in several troops, bearing ten or twelve miles square before them, and ever within three or foure dayes [they] returne to their Campe, putting all to fire and sword but that they carrie with them backe to their Campe; and in this scattering manner he will invade a Countrey, and be gone with his prey, with an incredible expedition.

But if he understand of an enemie, he will either fight in Ambuscado, or flie; for he will never fight any battel if he can chuse, but upon treble advantage: yet by his innumerable flights of arrowes, I have seene flie from his flying troopes, we could not well judge, whether his fighting or flying was most dangerous, so good is his horse, and so expert his bow-men. But if they be so intangled they must fight, there is none can bee more hardy, or resolute in their defences.

How he divides the spoile.

Regaining his owne borders, he takes the tenth of the principall captives, man, woman, childe, or beast (but his captaines that take them, will accept of some particular person they best like for themselves): the rest are divided amongst the whole Armie, according to every mans desert,

[1603] and quality; that they keepe them, or sell them to who[m] will give most. But they will not forget to use all the meanes they can, to know their estates, friends, and quality; and the better they finde you, the worse they will use you, till you doe agree to pay such a ransome, as they will impose upon you: therefore many great persons have endured much misery to conceale themselves, because their ransomes are so intolerable. Their best hope is of some *Christian* Agent, that many times commeth to redeeme slaves, either with mony, or man for man: those Agents knowing so well the extreme covetousnesse of the *Tartars*, doe use to bribe some Iew or Merchant, that feigning they will sell them againe to some other nation, are oft redeemed for a very small ransome.

How the Chan doth serve the great *Turke*.

But to this *Tartarian* Armie, when the *Turke* commands, he goeth with some small artillery; and the *Nagagians*, *Perecopens*, *Crimes*, *Osovens*, and *Cersessians*, are his tributaries; but the *Petigorves*, *Oczaconians*, *Byalogordens*, and *Dobrueen Tartars*, the *Turke* by covenant commands to follow him; so that from all those *Tartars* he hath had an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand excellent, swift, stomackfull *Tartarian* horse; for foot they have none.

Now the Chan, his Sultaines and nobility, use *Turkish*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, *Parthian*, and other strange *Tartarian* horses; the swiftest they esteeme the best: seldome they feede any more at home, than they have present use for; but upon their plaines is a short wodde like heath, in some countries like gaile, full of berries, farre much better than any grasse.

Their Armes.

Their Armes are such as they have surprised or got from the *Christians* or *Persians*, both brest-plates, swords, semiteres, and helmets; bowes and arrowes they make most[ly] themselves, also their bridles and saddles are indifferent: but the nobility are very handsome[ly], and well armed like the *Turkes*, in whom consisteth their greatest glory. The ordinary sort have little armor, some a plaine young pole unshaven, headed with a peece of iron for a lance; some an old *Christian* pike, or a *Turks* cavatine: yet those tattertimallions will have two or three horses, some [31] foure, or five, as well for service, as for to eat; which makes their Armies seem thrice so many as there are souldiers.

The *Chan* himselfe hath about his person ten thousand chosen *Tartars* and *Ianizaries*, some small Ordnance: and a white mares taile with a peece of greene taffity, on a great Pike, is carried before him for a standard; because they hold no beast so precious as a white mare; whose milke is onely for the King and nobility, and to sacrifice to their Idolls; but the rest have ensignes of divers colours. [1603]

For all this miserable knowledge, furniture, and equipage, the mischiefe they doe in *Christendome* is wonderfull: by reason of their hardnesse of life and constitution, obedience, agilitie, and their Emperours bountie, honours, grace, and dignities he ever bestoweth upon those that have done him any memorable service in the face of his enemies.

A description of the *Caspian* Sea.

The *Caspian* Sea, most men agree that have passed it, to be in length about 200. leagues, and in breadth an hundred and fifty: environed to the East, with the great desarts of the *Tartars* of *Turkamane*; to the West, by the *Circasses*, and the mountaine *Caucasus*; to the North, by the river *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay*; and to the South, by *Media*, and *Persia*. This sea is fresh water in many places, in others as salt as the great Ocean. It hath many great rivers which fall into it, as the mighty river of *Volga*, which is like a sea, running neere two thousand miles, through many great and large Countries, that send into it many other great rivers: also out of *Saberya*, *Yaick*, and *Yem*, out of the great mountaine *Caucasus*, the river *Sirus*, *Arash*, and divers others; yet no Sea neerer it than the blacke Sea, which is at least an hundred leagues distant. In which Country live the *Georgians*, now part *Armenians*, part *Nestorians*. It is neither found to increase or diminish, or empty it selfe any way, except it be under ground; and in some places they can finde no ground at two hundred fadome.

Many other most strange and wonderfull things are in the land of *Cathay* towards the North-east, and *Chyna* towards the South-east: where are many of the most famous Kingdomes in the world; where most arts, plenty, and curiosities are in such abundance, as might seeme incredible, which hereafter I will relate, as I have briefly gathered from such authors as have lived there.

CHAPTER XVII.

How captaine Smith *escaped his captivity; slew the* Bashaw *of* Nalbrits *in* Cambia; *his passage to* Russia, Transilvania, *and the middest of* Europe *to* Affrica.

[1603] How *Smith* escaped his captivity.

ALL the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thraldome was only the love of *Tragabigzanda*, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage: for although he had often debated the matter with some *Christians*, that had beene there a long time slaves, they could not finde how to make an escape, by any reason or possibility; but God beyond [**32**] mans expectation or imagination helpeth his servants, when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapned to him.

[*pp.*276, 854.]

So long he lived in this miserable estate, as he became a thresher at a grange in a great field, more than a league from the *Tymors* house [*at Nalbrits*]. The *Bashaw* as he oft used to visit his granges, visited him; and tooke occasion so to beat, spurne, and revile him, that [*Smith*] forgetting all reason, he beat out the *Tymors* braines with his threshing bat, for they have no flailes: and seeing his estate could be no worse than it was, clothed himselfe in his clothes, hid his body under the straw, filled his knapsacke with corne, shut the doores, mounted his horse, and ranne into the desart at all adventure.

Two or three dayes thus fearfully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was he met not any to aske the way. Being even as taking leave of this miserable world, God did direct him to the great way or Castragan, as they call it, which doth crosse these large territories, and [is] generally knowne among them by these markes.

Their guides in those Countries.

In every crossing of this great way is planted a post, and in it so many bobs with broad ends, as there be wayes, and every bob the figure painted on it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the *Cryms* Country, is marked with a halfe Moone,

if towards the *Georgians* and *Persia*, a blacke man, full of white spots; if towards China, the picture of the Sunne; if towards *Muscovia*, the signe of a Crosse; if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his standard is knowne. [1603]

To his dying spirits, thus God added some comfort in this melancholy journey: wherein if he had met any of that vilde generation, they had made him their slave; or knowing the figure engraven in the iron about his necke, (as all slaves have) he had beene sent backe againe to his master.

Sixteene dayes he travelled in this feare and torment, after the Crosse, till he arrived at *Æcopolis*, upon the river *Don*, a garrison of the *Muscovites*.

The governour after due examination of those his hard events, tooke off his irons, and so kindly used him, he thought himselfe new risen from death; and the good Lady *Callamata*, largely supplied all his wants. [*p.* 276.]

The description of *Cambia* and his passage to *Russia*.

This is as much as he could learne of those wilde Countries, that the Country of *Cambia* is two dayes journ[e]y from the head of the great river *Bruapo*, which springeth from many places of the mountaines of *Innagachi*, that joyne themselves together in the Poole *Kerkas*; which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea *Dissabacca*, called by some the lake *Meotis*, which receiveth also the river *Tanais*, and all the rivers that fall from the great Countries of the *Circassi*, the *Cartaches*, and many from the *Tauricaes*, *Precopes*, *Cummani*, *Cossunka*, and the *Cryme*. Through which Sea he sailed, and up the river *Bruapo* to *Nalbrits*, and thence through the desarts of *Circassi* to *Æcoplis*, as is related; where he stayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to *Coragnaw*.

Then with his certificate how hee found him, and had examined [him], with his friendly letters [he] sent him by *Zumalacke* to *Caragnaw*: whose Governour in like manner so kindly use him, that by this meanes he went with a safe conduct to *Lctch*, and *Donka*, in *Cologoske*, and thence to *Berniske*, and *Newgrod* in *Seberia*, by *Rezechica*, upon the river *Niper* in the confines [**33**] of *Littuania*. From whence with as much kindnesse he was convoyed in like manner

[1603] by *Coroski*, *Duberesko*, *Duzihell*, *Drohobus*, and *Ostroge* in *Volonia*; *Saslaw* and *Lasco* in *Podolia*; *Halico* and *Collonia* in *Polonia*; and so to *Hermonstat* in *Transilvania*. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment: and not any Governour where he came, but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges; seeing themselves as subject to the like calamity.

His observations in his journey to *Transilvania*, through the midst of *Europe*

Through those poore continually forraged Countries there is no passage, but with the Carravans or Convoyes; for they are Countries rather to be pitied, than envied; and it is a wonder any should make warres for them. The Villages are onely here and there a few houses of straight Firre trees, laid heads and points above one another, made fast by notches at the ends more than a mans height, and with broad split boards, pinned together with woodden pinnes, as thatched for coverture. In ten Villages you shall scarce finde ten iron nailes, except it be in some extraordinary mans house.

For their Townes, *Æcopolis*, *Letch*, and *Donko*, have rampiers made of that woodden walled fashion, double, and betwixt them earth and stones; but so latched with crosse timber, they are very strong against any thing but fire; and about them a deepe ditch, and a Palizado of young Firre trees: but most of the rest have only a great ditch cast about them, and the ditches earth is all their rampier; but round well environed with Palizadoes. Some have some few small peeces of small Ordnance, and slings, calievers, and muskets; but their generallest weapons are the *Russe* bowes and arrowes.

You shall find pavements over bogges, onely of young Firre trees laid crosse one over another, for two or three houres journey, or as the passage requires: and yet in two dayes travell you shall scarce see six habitations.

Notwithstanding, to see how their Lords, Governours, and Captaines are civilized, well attired and acoutred with Iewells, Sables, and Horses, and after their manner with curious furniture, it is wonderfull: but they are all Lords or slaves, which makes them so subject to every invasion.

In *Transilvania* he [*i.e.*, *Smith*] found so many good friends,

that but to see and rejoyce himselfe (after all those encounters) in his native Country, he would ever hardly have left them; though the mirrour of vertue, their Prince, was absent. [1603-4]

Being thus glutted with content, and neere drowned with joy; he passed high *Hungaria* by *Fileck*, *Tocka*, *Cassovia*, and *Vnderoroway*, by *Vlmicht*, in *Moravia*, to *Prague* in *Bohemia*: at last he found the most gracious Prince *Sigismundus*, with his Colonell [*Henry Volda, Earl of Meldritch, pp.* 842, 852], at *Lipswick* in *Misenland*: who gave him his Passe [9 *Dec.* 1603, *see p.* 845], intimating the service he had done, and the honours he had received, with fifteene hundred ducats [=*about* £500] of gold to repaire his losses.

With this, he spent some time to visit the faire Cities and Countries of *Drasdon* in *Saxonie*, *Magdaburg* and *Brunswicke*; *Cassell* in *Hessen*; *Wittenberg*, *Vllum*, and *Minikin* in *Bavaria*; *Aughsbrough*, and her Vniversities; *Hama*, *Franckford*, *Mentz*, the *Palatinate*; *Wormes*, *Speyre*, and *Strausborough*; passing *Nancie* in *Loraine*, and *France* by *Paris* to *Orleans*, hee went down the river of *Loyer*, to *Angiers*, and imbarked himselfe at *Nantz* in *Britanny*, for *Bilbao* in *Biskay*, to see *Burgos*, [**34**] *Valiadolid*, the admired monasterie of the *Escuriall*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Cordua*, *Cuedyriall*, *Civill*, *Cheryes*, *Cales*, and Saint *Lucas* in *Spaine*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The observations of Captaine Smith, *Master* Henrie Archer *and others in* Barbarie.

BEing thus satisfied with *Europe* and *Asia*; understanding of the warres in *Barbarie*, hee went from *Gibralter* to *Guta* and *Tanger*, thence to *Saffee*: where growing into acquaintance with a French man of warre, the Captaine and some twelve more went to *Morocco*, to see the ancient monuments of that large renowned Citie. It was once the principall

[1604] Citie in *Barbarie*, situated in a goodly plaine Countrey, 14 miles from the great Mount *Atlas*, and sixtie miles from the *Atlanticke* Sea; but now little remaining, but the Kings Palace, which is like a Citie of it selfe, and the *Christian* Church, on whose flat square steeple is a great brouch of iron, whereon is placed the three golden Bals of *Affrica*: the first is neere three Ells in circumference, the next above it somewhat lesse, the uppermost the least over them, as it were an halfe Ball, and over all a prettie guilded *Pyramides*. Against those golden Bals hath been shot many a shot. Their weight is recorded 700. weight [784 *lbs.*] of pure gold, hollow within, yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any Conspirator attaine that honor as to get them downe. They report the Prince of *Morocco* betrothed himselfe to the Kings Daughter of *Æthiopia*, he dying before their marriage, she caused those three golden Balls to be set up for his Monument, and vowed virginitie all her life. The *Alfantica* is also a place of note, because it is invironed with a great wall, wherein lye the goods of all the Merchants securely guarded. The *Iuderea* is also (as it were) a Citie of it selfe, where dwell the *Iewes*: the rest for the most part is defaced: but by the many pinnacles and towers, with Balls on their tops, hath much appearance of much sumptuousnesse and curiositie. There have been many famous Universities, which are now but stables for Fowles and Beasts, and the houses in most parts lye tumbled one above another. The walls of Earth are with the great fresh flouds washed to the ground; nor is there any village in it, but tents for Strangers, *Larbes* [*Mountainers*, *p.* 873] and *Moores*.

The three golden Bals of *Affrica*.

The description of *Morocco*.

Strange tales they will tell of a great Garden, wherein were all sorts of Birds, Fishes, Beasts, Fruits and Fountaines, which for beautie, Art, and pleasure, exceeded any place knowne in the world; though now nothing but dung-hils, Pigeon-houses, shrubs and bushes. There are yet many excellent fountaines adorned with marble, and many arches, pillers, towers, ports and Temples; but most only reliques of lamentable ruines and sad desolation.

A bloudie Empresse.

When *Mully Hamet* reigned in *Barbarie*, he had three sonnes, *Mully Shecke*, *Mully Sidan*, and *Mully Befferres*. He a most good and noble King, that governed well with

peace and plentie, till his Empresse, more cruell [**35**] than any beast in *Affrica*, poysoned him, her owne daughter, *Mully Shecke* his eldest sonne borne of a Portugall Ladie, and his daughter; to bring *Mully Sidan* to the Crowne now reigning: which was the cause of all those brawles and warres that followed betwixt those Brothers, their children, and a *Saint* that start[ed] up (but he played the Devill). [1604]

King *Mully Hamet* was not blacke, as many suppose, but *Molata*, or tawnie, as are the most of his subjects; everie way noble, kinde and friendly, verie rich and pompous in State and Majestie: though hee sitteth not upon a Throne nor Chaire of Estate, but crosse legged upon a rich Carpet, as doth the *Turke*; whose Religion of *Mahomet*, with an incredible miserable curiositie they observe. His Ordinarie Guard is at least 5000; but in progresse he goeth not with lesse than 20000. horsemen: himselfe as rich in all his Equipage, as any Prince in Christendome, and yet a Contributor to the *Turke*. King *Mully Hamet*, or the Great *Zerif* of *Barbarie*.

In all his Kingdome were so few good Artificers, that hee entertained from *England*, Gold-smiths, Plummers, Carvers, and Polishers of stone, and Watch-makers: so much hee delighted in the reformation of workmanship, hee allowed each of them ten shillings a day standing fee, linnen, woollen, silkes, and what they would for diet and apparell; and custome-free to transport, or import what they would; for there were scarce any of those qualities in his Kingdomes but those, of which there are divers of them living at this present [1629] in *London*. His great love to English men.

Amongst the rest, one Master *Henry Archer*, a Watch-maker, walking in *Morocco*, from the *Alfantica* to the *Iuderea*, the way being verie foule, met a great Priest, or a *Sante* (as they call all great Clergy-men) who would have thrust him into the durt for the way; but *Archer*, not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the eare: presently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and his hand cut off; but no sooner it was knowen at the Kings Court, but 300. of his Guard came, and broke open the Prison, and delivered him, although the fact was next degree to Treason.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth

[1604] noting: Not farre from Mount *Atlas*, a great Lionesse in the heat of the day, did use to bathe her selfe, and teach her young Puppies to swimme in the river *Cauzeff*, of a good bredth; yet she would carrie them one after another over the river: which some *Moores* perceiving watched their opportunitie, and when the river was betweene her and them, stole foure of her whelps; which she perceiving, with all the speed shee could passed the river, and comming neere them they let fall a whelpe (and fled with the rest) which she tooke in her mouth, and so returned to the rest.

The strange love of a Lyon.

A Male and a Female of those they gave Master *Archer*, who kept them in the Kings Garden, till the Male killed the Female; then he brought it up as a Puppy-dog lying upon his bed, till it grew so great as a Mastiffe, and no dog more tame or gentle to them hee knew: but being to returne for *England*, at *Saffee* he gave him to a Merchant of *Marsellis*, that presented him to the French King, who sent him to King *Iames*, where it was kept in the Tower seven yeeres.

After, one Master *Iohn Bull*, then servant to Master *Archer*, with divers of his friends, went to see the Lyons, not knowing any thing at all of him; yet this rare beast smelled him before hee [36] saw him, whining, groaning, and tumbling, with such an expression of acquaintance; that being informed by the Keepers how hee came thither, Master *Bull* so prevailed, the Keeper opened the grate, and *Bull* went in: But no Dogge could fawne more on his Master, than the Lyon on him, licking his feet, hands, and face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders; being satisfied with his acquaintance, he made shift to get out of the grate. But when the Lyon saw his friend gone; no beast by bellowing, roaring, scratching, and howling, could expresse more rage and sorrow: nor in foure dayes after would he either eat or drinke.

Another kinde Lyon in *Morocco*.

In *Morocco*, the Kings Lyons are all together in a Court, invironed with a great high wall; to those they put a young Puppy-dogge: the greatest Lyon had a sore upon his necke, which this Dogge so licked that he was healed: the Lyon defended him from the furie of all the rest, nor durst they eat till the Dogge and he had fed; this Dog grew great, and lived amongst them many yeeres after.

Fez also is a most large and plentifull Countrey, the chiefe Citie is called *Fez*, divided into two parts; old *Fez* containing about 80. thousand housholds, the other 4000. pleasantly situated vpon a River in the heart of *Barbarie*, part upon hils, part upon plaines, full of people, and all sorts of Merchandise. [1604] The description of *Fez*.

The great Temple is called *Carucen*, in bredth seventeene Arches, in length 120. borne up with 2500. white marble pillars: under the chiefe Arch, where the Tribunall is kept, hangeth a most huge lampe, compassed with 110. lesser, under the other also hang great lamps, and about some are burning fifteene hundred lights. They say they were all made of the bels the *Arabians* brought from *Spaine*. It hath three gates of notable height, Priests and Officers so many, that the circuit of the Church, the Yard, and other houses, is little lesse than a mile and an halfe in compasse.

There are in this Citie 200. Schooles, 200. Innes, 400. water-mils, 600. water-Conduits; 700. Temples and Oratories; but fiftie of them most stately and richly furnished. Their *Alcazar* or *Burse* is walled about, it hath twelve gates, and fifteen walks covered with tents to keepe the Sun from the Merchants, and them that come there. The Kings Palace, both for strength and beautie is excellent, and the Citizens have many great privileges.

Those two Countreyes of *Fez* and *Morocco*, are the best part of all *Barbarie*, abounding with people, cattell, and all good necessaries for mans use. Forthe rest, as the *Larbes* or Mountainers, the Kingdomes of *Cocow*, *Algier*, *Tripoly*, *Tunis*, and *Ægypt*; there are many large histories of them in divers languages, especially that writ by that most excellent Statesman, *John de Leo*, who afterward turned Christian.

A briefe description of the most unknowen parts of *Africa*.

The unknowen Countries of *Ginny* and *Binne*, this six and twentie yeeres [1603–1629] have beene frequented with a few English ships only to trade, especially the river of *Senega*, by Captaine *Brimstead*, Captaine *Brockit*, Master *Crump*, and divers others.

Also the great river of *Gambra*, by Captaine *Iobson*, who is returned in thither againe in the yeere 1626. with Master *William Grent*, and thirteene or fourteene others, to stay in

[1479-1629] the Countrey, to discover some way to those rich mines of *Gago* or *Tumbatu*, from whence is supposed the *Moores* of [37] *Barbarie* have their gold; and the certaintie of those supposed descriptions and relations of those interiour parts, which daily the more they are sought into, the more they are corrected.

For surely, those interiour parts of *Affrica* are little knowen to either *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, though they use much the Coast; therefore wee will make a little bold with the observations of the *Portugalls*.

CHAPTER XIX.

The strange discoveries and observations of the Portugalls *in* Affrica.

How the *Portugalls* coasted to the *East Indies*.

THe *Portugalls* on those par[t]s have the glorie, who first coasting along this Westerne shore of *Affrica*, to finde passage to the *East Indies*, within this hundred and fiftie yeeres [1479-1629], even from the Streights of *Gibralter*, about the Cape of *Bone Esperance* to the *Persian Gulfe*, and thence all along the *Asian* Coast to the *Moluccas*, have subjected many great Kingdomes, erected many Common-wealths, built many great and strong Cities; and where is it they have not beene by trade or force? no not so much as *Cape de Verd*, and *Sermleone*; but most Bayes or Rivers, where there is any trade to bee had, especially gold, or conveniencie for refreshment, but they are scattered; living so amongst those *Blacks*, by time and cunning they seeme to bee naturalized amongst them.

As for the Isles of the *Canaries*, they have faire Townes, many Villages, and many thousands of people rich in commodities.

Or *Edvard* *Ordoardo Lopez*, a noble *Portugall*, *Anno Dom* 1578. imbarquing himselfe for *Congo* to trade, where he found such entertainment, finding the King much oppressed with enemies, hee found meanes to bring in the *Portugalls* to assist him, whereby he planted there Christian Religion, and spent most of his life to bring those Countreyes to

the Crowne of Portugall, which he describeth in this manner. [1578]

The Kingdome of *Congo* is about 600. miles diameter any way; the chiefe Citie called *St. Savadore*, [is] seated upon an exceeding high mountaine, 150. miles from the Sea, verie fertile, and inhabited with more than 100000. persons, where is an excellent prospect over all the plaine Countreyes about it, well watered, lying (as it were) in the Center of this Kingdome: over all which the *Portugalls* now command, though but an handfull in comparison of *Negroes*. They have flesh and fruits verie plentifull of divers sorts. The Kingdome of *Congo*.

This Kingdom is divided into five Provinces, viz. *Bamba*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Bacca*, and *Pembo*; but *Bamba* is the principall, and can affoord 400000. men of warre. Elephants are bred over all those Provinces, and of wonderfull greatnesse; though some report they cannot kneele, nor lye downe, they can doe both, and have their joynts as other creatures for use: with their fore-feet they will leape upon trees to pull downe the boughes, and are of that strength, they will shake a great *Cocar* tree for [38] the nuts, and pull downe a good tree with their tuskes, to get the leaves to eat, as well as sedge and long grasse, *Cocar* nuts and berries, &c. which with their trunke they put in their mouth, and chew it with their smaller teeth. Wilde Elephants.

In most of those Provinces, are many rich mines, but the *Negars* opposed the *Portugalls* for working in them.

The Kingdome of *Angola* is wonderfull populous, and rich in mines of silver, copper, and most other mettalls; fruitfull in all manner of food, and [with] sundry sorts of cattell, but dogges flesh they love better than any other meat: they use few clothes, and no Armour; bowes, arrowes, and clubs, are their weapons. But the *Portugalls* are well armed against those engines; and doe buy yearely of those *Blacks* more than five thousand slaves, and many are people exceeding well proportioned. The Kingdome of *Angola*

The *Anchicos* are a most valiant nation, but most strange to all about them. Their Armes are Bowes, short and small, wrapped about with serpents skinnes, of divers colours; but so smooth you would thinke them all one with the wood, and it makes them very strong: their strings little twigs, but exceeding tough and flexible; their arrowes The Kingdome of *Anchicos*

[1578] short, which they shoot with an incredible quicknesse. They have short axes of brasse and copper for swords; [are] wonderfull loyall and faithfull, and exceeding simple, yet so active, they skip amongst the rockes like goats. They trade with them of *Nubea*, and *Congo*, for *Lamache*, which is a small kinde of shell fish, of an excellent azure colour, male and female, but the female they hold most pure; they value them at divers prices, because they are of divers sorts: and those they use for coine, to buy and sell, as we doe gold and silver; nor will they have any other money in all those Countries, for which they give Elephants teeth; and slaves for salt, silke, linnen cloth, glasse-beads, and such like *Portugall* commodities.

A strange mony.

A shambles of mans flesh.

They circumcise themselves, and marke their faces with sundry slashes from their infancie. They keepe a shambles of mans flesh, as if it were beefe or other victuall: for when they cannot have a good market for their slaves; or their enemies they take, they kill and sell them in this manner. Some are so resolute in shewing how much they scorne death, they will offer themselves and slaves to this butchery to their Prince and friends; and though there be many nations will eat their enemies, in *America* and *Asia*, yet none but those are knowne to be so mad, as to eat their slaves and friends also.

Their Religions and Idols.

Religions and idolls they have as many, as nations and humours; but the devill hath the greatest part of their devotions, whom all those *Blacks* doe say is white; for there are no Saints but *Blacks*.

Divers nations yet unknowne, and the wonders of *Affrica*.

But besides those great Kingdomes of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Azichi* in those unfrequented parts are the Kingdomes of *Lango*, *Matania*, *Buttua*, *Sofola*, *Mozambeche*, *Quivola*, the Isle of Saint *Lawrence*, *Mombaza*, *Melinda*, the Empires of *Monomatopa*, *Monemugi*, and *Presbiter John*, with whom they have a kinde of trade; and their rites, customes, climates, temperatures, and commodities by relation.

Also of great Lakes, that deserve the names of Seas, and huge mountaines of divers [**39**] sorts, as some scorched with heat, some covered with snow; the mountaines of the Sunne, also of the Moone, some of crystall, some of iron, some of silver, and mountaines of gold, with the originall

of *Nilus*; likewise sundry sorts of cattell, fishes, Fowles, strange beasts, and monstrous serpents; for *Affrica* was alwayes noted to be a fruitfull mother of such terrible creatures: who meeting at their watering places, which are but Ponds in desart places, in regard of the heat of the Country, and their extremities of nature, make strange copulations, and so ingender those extraordinary monsters. [1604]

Of all these you may reade in the history of this *Edward Lopez*, translated into English by *Abraham Hartwell*, and dedicated to *Iohn* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 1597.

But because the particulars are most concerning the conversion of those Pagans, by a good poore Priest that first converted a Noble man, to convert the King, and the rest of the Nobility; [then] sent for so many Priests and ornaments into *Portugall*, to solemnize their baptismes with such magnificence, which was performed with such strange curiosities, that those poore *Negros* adored them as Gods, till the Priests grew to that wealth, a Bishop was sent to rule over them: which they would not endure, which endangered to spoile all before they could bee reconciled.

But not to trouble you too long with those rarities of uncertainties: let us returne againe to *Barbary*, where the warres being ended, and *Befferres* possessed of *Morocco*, and his fathers treasure; a new bruit arose amongst them, that *Muly Sidan*, was raising an Armie against him, who after tooke his brother *Befferres* prisoner.

But by reason of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloudy murthers rather than warre, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moores; *Smith* returned with *Merham*, [*or rather the French Captain, see p.* 869] and the rest to *Saffe*[*e*], and so aboard his Ship, to try some other conclusions at Sea.

CHAPTER XX.

A brave Sea fight betwixt two Spanish *men of warre, and Captaine* Merham *with* Smith.

[1604] MErham a captaine of a man of war then in the Road, invited captaine *Smith*, and two or three more of them aboord with him; where he spared not any thing he had to expresse his kindnesse, to bid them welcome, till it was too late to goe on shore, so that necessitie constrained them to stay aboord.

A fairer Evening could not bee: yet ere midnight such a storme did arise, they were forced to let slip Cable and Anchor, and put to Sea; spooning before the wind, till they were driven to the *Canaries*. In the calmes they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event.

Not long it was before they tooke a small Barke comming from *Teneryf*, loaded with Wine. Three or foure more they chased, two they tooke, but found little in them, save a few passengers, that told them of five *Dutch* men of warre, about the Isles: so that they stood for *Boyadora*, [**40**] upon the *Affrican* shore; betwixt which and *Cape Noa*, they descried t[w]o saile. *Merham* intending to know what they were, hailed them: very civilly they dansed their topsailes, and desired the man of warre to come aboord them, and take what he would; for they were but two poore distressed *Biskiners*.

But *Merham*, the old fox, seeing himselfe in the lions pawes, sprung his loufe; the other tacked after him, and came close up to his nether quarter, gave his broad side, and so loufed up to windward; the Vice-Admirall did the like; and at the next bout, the Admirall with a noise of Trumpets, and all his Ordnance, murtherers, and muskets, boorded him on his broad side; the other in like manner on his ley quarter, that it was so darke, there was little light, but fire and smoake. Long he stayed not,

before he fell off, leaving 4. or 5. of his men sprawling over the grating. [1604]

After they had battered *Merham* about an houre, they boorded him againe as before; and threw foure kedgers or grapnalls in iron chaines, then shearing off they thought so to have torne downe the grating; but the Admiralls yard was so intangled in their shrouds, *Merham* had time to discharge two crosse barre shot amongst them, and divers bolts of iron made for that purpose, against his bow, that made such a breach, he feared they both should have sunke for company. So that the *Spaniard* was as yare in slipping his chained Grapnalls, as *Merham* was in cutting the tackling, [that] kept fast their yards in his shrouds. The Vice-admirall presently cleared himselfe, but spared neither his Ordnance nor Muskets to keepe *Merham* from getting away, till the Admirall had repaired his leake.

From twelve at noone, till six at night, they thus interchanged one volly for another; then the Vice-admirall fell on starne, staying for the Admirall that came up againe to him, and all that night stood after *Merham*, that shaped his course for *Mamora*, but such small way they made, the next morning they were not three leagues off from *Cape Noa*.

The two *Spanish* men of warre, for so they were, and well appointed: taking it in scorne as it seemed, with their chase, broad side, and starne, the one after the other, within Musket shot, plying their ordnance; and after an houres worke commanded *Merham* a maine for the King of *Spaine* upon faire quarter.

Merham dranke to them, and so discharged his quarter peeces.

Which pride the *Spaniard* to revenge, [they] boorded him againe, and many of them were got to the top to unsling the maine saile; which the Master and some others from the round house, caused to their cost to come tumbling downe. About the round house the *Spaniards* so pestered, that they were forced to the great Cabben and blew it up; the smoake and fire was so vehement, as they thought the Ship on fire. They in the fore castle were no lesse assaulted, that blew up a peece of the grating, with a great many of *Spaniards* more; then they cleared themselves with all speed, and *Merham* with as much expedition

[1604] to quench the fire with wet clothes and water, which beganne to grow too fast. The *Spaniard* still playing upon him with all the shot they could; the open places presently they covered with old sailes, and prepared themselves to fight to the last man.

The angry *Spaniard* seeing the fire quenched, hung out a flagge of truce to have but a parley; but that desperate [**41**] *Merham* knew there was but one way with him, and would have none but the report of his Ordnance, which hee did know well how to use for his best advantage. Thus they spent the next after-noone, and halfe that night; when the *Spaniards* either lost them, or left them.

Seven and twentie men *Merham* had slaine, and sixteene wounded; and could finde they [*i.e.*, *the ship*] had received 140. great shot. A wounded *Spanyard* they kept alive, confessed they had lost 100. men in the Admirall, which they did feare would sinke, ere she could recover a Port.

Thus reaccommodating their sailes, they sailed for *Sancta Cruse*, *Cape Goa*, and *Magadore*, till they came againe to *Saffee*; and then he [*i.e.*, *Smith*] returned into *England*.



[The second part of *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations &c.*
1630.
The *Observations &c.*

A Continuation of The Generall Historie of Virginia, the Summer Islands, and New England, 1624–1629.

The English voyages to Guiana, and the river Amazon, 1595–1629.

The English beginnings at St. Christopher, Barbadoes, and Nevis, 1623–1629.

A short view of English pirates, 1588–1629.]

[In the original edition, while tne headline of the former part of this Work is

The Travels and Adventures &c.,

that over what follows is (but not uniformly)

The Travels and Observations &c.

With the exception of the Eye-witness description of Nevis, at *pp.* 909–10; this latter part is simply a compilation by our Author, out of such Relations as came to his hands.]



CHAPTER XXI.

The continuation of the generall Historie of Virginia; *the* Summer Iles; *and* New England; *with their present estate from* 1624. *to this present* 1629.

CONcerning these Countreyes, I would be sorrie to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their Maps, Commodities, People, Government and Religion yet knowen, the beginning of those plantations, their numbers and names, with the names of the Adventurers, the yeerely proceedings of everie Governour both here and there. As for the misprisions, neglect, grievances, and the causes of all those rumours, losses and crosses that have happened; I referre you to the Generall Historie, where you shall finde all this at large; especially to those pages, where you may read my letter of advice to the Councell and Company, what of necessitie must be done, or lose all and leave the Countrey, pag. 70. [*p.* 442] what commodities I sent home, pag. 163. [*p.* 610] my opinion and offer to the Company, to feed and defend the Colonies, pag. 150. [*p.* 588] my account to them hereof myactions there, pag. 163. [*p.* 610] my seven answers to his Majesties Commissioners: seven questions what hath hindered *Virginia*, and the remedie, pag. 165 [*p.* 615]. [1629]

How those noble Gentlemen spent neere two yeares in perusing all letters [that] came from thence; and the differences betwixt many factions, both here and there, with their

[1622-5] complaints; especially about the Sallerie, which should have beene a new office in *London*, for the well ordering [of] the sale of *Tobacco*, that 2500. pounds should yearely have beene raised out of it, to pay foure or five hundred pounds yearly to the Governor of that Companie; two or three hundred to his Deputie; the rest into stipends of thirtie or fiftie pounds yearely for their Clerks and under Officers which were never there, pag. 153 [*pp.* 590, 591], but but not one hundred pounds for all them in *Virginia*, or any thing for the most part of the Adventurers in *England*, except the undertakers for the Lotteries, Setters out of ships, Adventurers of commodities, also their Factors and many other Officers, there imployed only by friendship to raise their fortunes out of the labours of the true industrious planters by the title of their office, who [42] under the colour of sinceritie, did pillage and deceive all the rest most cunningly. For more than 150000. pounds have beene spent out of the common stocke, besides many thousands have beene there consumed, and neere 7000. people that there died, only for want of good order and government: otherwise long ere this there would have beene more than 20000. people; where after twentie yeeres spent onely in complement, and trying new conclusions, was remaining scarce 1500. with some few cattell.

Then the Company dissolved, but no account of any thing; so that his Majestie appointed Commissioners to oversee, and give order for their proceedings.

Being thus in a manner left to themselves, since then within these foure yeeres [1625–1629], you shall see how wonderfully they have increased beyond expectation: but so exactly as I desired, I cannot relate unto you. For although I have tired my selfe in seeking and discoursing with those returned thence, more than would a voyage to *Virginia*; few can tell me any thing, but of that place or places they have inhabited: and he is a great traveller that hath gone up and downe the river of *James* Towne, been at *Pamaunke*, *Smiths* Isles, or *Accomack*; wherein for the most part they keepe one tune of their now particular abundance, and their former wants, having beene there, some sixteene yeeres, some twelve, some six, some neere twentie,

&c. But of their generall estate, or any thing of worth, the most of them doth know verie little to any purpose. [1627]

Their estate. Now the most I could understand in generall, was from the relation of Master *Nathaniel Cawsey*, that lived there with mee [*pp.* 410, 575], and returned *Anno Dom.* 1627.; and [of] some others [who] affirme: 1627.

Sir *George Yerley* was Governour, Captaine *Francis West*, Doctor *Iohn Poot*, Captaine *Roger Smith*, Captaine *Matthewes*, Captaine *Tucker*, Master *Clabourne* and Master *Farrer* of the Councell: their habitations many. The Governour, with two or three of the Councell, are for most part at *Iames* Towne; the rest repaire thither as there is occasion: but everie three moneths they have a generall meeting, to consider of their publike affaires.

Their numbers. Their numbers then [1627] were about 1500. some say rather 2000. divided into seventeene or eighteene severall Plantations; the greatest part thereof towards the falls, are so inclosed with Pallizadoes they regard not the Salvages: and amongst those Plantations above *Iames* Towne, they have now found meanes to take plentie of fish, as well with lines as nets, and where the waters are the largest; having meanes, they need not want. [*p.* 927.]

Their condition with the Salvages. Upon this River they seldome see any Salvages; but in the woods, many times their fires: yet some few there are, that upon their opportunitie have slaine some few stragglers, which have beene revenged with the death of so many of themselves; but no other attempt hath beene made upon them this two or three yeares [1624–7].

Their increase of Cattle and Poultrie. Their Cattle, namely Oxen, Kine, Buls, they imagine to be about 2000. Goats great store and great increase; the wilde Hogs, which were infinite, are destroyed and eaten by the Salvages: but no family is so poore, that hath not tame Swine sufficient; and for Poultrie, he is a verie [**43**] bad husband [that] breedeth not an hundred in a yeere, and the richer sort doth daily feed on them.

Plenty of Corne. For bread they have plentie, and so good, that those that make it well, better cannot be: divers have much English corne, especially Master *Abraham Perce*, which prepared this yeere [1627] to sow two hundred acres of English wheat, and as much with barley; feeding daily about the number of sixtie persons at his owne charges.

[1627-9] For drinke, some malt the Indian corne, others barley; of which they make good Ale, both strong and small, and such plentie thereof, few of the upper Planters drinke any water: but the better sort are well furnished with Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and good English Beere.

Their drinke.

Their servants diet.

Their servants commonly feed upon Milke Homini, which is bruized Indian corne pounded, and boiled thicke, and milke for the sauce; but boiled with milke the best of all will oft feed on it, and leave their flesh: with milke, butter and cheese; with fish, Bulls flesh, for they seldome kill any other; &c.

And everie one is so applyed to his labour about Tobacco and Corne, which doth yeeld them such profit, they never regard any food from the Salvages; nor have they any trade or conference with them, but upon meere accidents and defiances: and now the Merchants have left it, there have gone so many voluntarie ships within this two yeeres [1625–7], as have furnished them with Apparell, Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and all necessaries, much better than ever before.

Their Armes and exercise.

For Armes, there is scarce any man but he is furnished with a Peece, a Jacke, a Coat of Maile, a Sword, or Rapier; and euerie Holy-day, everie Plantation doth exercise their men in Armes, by which meanes, [and] hunting and fowling, the most part of them are most excellent markmen.

Their health and discoveries.

For Discoveries they have made none; nor [to] any other commoditie than Tobacco doe they apply themselves unto, though never any was planted at first. And whereas the Countrey was heretofore held most intemperate and contagious by many: now they have houses, lodgings and victuall, and the Sunne hath power to exhale up the moyst vapours of the earth, where they have cut downe the wood, which before it could not, being covered with spreading tops of high trees; they finde it much more healthfull than before; nor for their numbers, few Countreyes are lesse troubled with death, sicknesse, or any other disease, nor where overgrowne women become more fruitfull.

The present estate of *Virginia*, 1629.

Since this, Sir *George Yerley* died 1628. Captaine *West* succeeded him; but about a yeere after returned for *England* [*in* 1629]: Now Doctor *Poot* is Governour, and the rest of the Councell as before.

Iames Towne is yet their chiefe seat, most of the wood destroyed, little corne there planted, but all converted into pasture and gardens; wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in *England* in abundance, and as good grasse as can be. Here most of their Cattle doe feed, their Owners being most some one way, some another, about their plantations; and returne againe when they please, or any shipping comes into trade. Here in winter they have hay for their Cattell: but in other places they browze upon wood, and the great huskes of their corne, with some corne in [**44**] them, doth keepe them well. [1629]

Master *Hutchins* saith, they have 2000 Cattle, and about 5000. people; but Master *Floud*, *John Davis*, *William Emerson*, and divers others, say, about five thousand people, and five thousand kine, calves, oxen, and bulls; for goats, hogs, and poultry; corne, fish, deere, and many sorts of other wilde beasts; and fowle in their season, they have so much more than they spend, they are able to feed three or foure hundred men more than they have; and doe oft much releeve many ships, both there, and for their returne; and this last yeare [1628] was there at least two or three and twenty saile.

Master *Hutchins*.

Five thousand people.

Five thousand cattell.

Goats, Hogs, and Poultry, infinite.

They have oft much salt fish from *New England*; but fresh fish enough, when they will take it; Peaches in abundance at *Kecoughtan*. Apples, Peares, Apricocks, Vines, figges, and other fruits some have planted, that prospered exceedingly; but their diligence about Tobacco left them to be spoiled by the cattell; yet now they beginne to revive.

Mistresse *Pearce*, an honest industrious woman, hath beene there neere twentie yeares [1610–1629], and now returned saith, shee hath a Garden at *Iames* towne, containing three or foure acres; where in one yeare shee hath gathered neere an hundred bushels of excellent figges: and that of her owne provision she can keepe a better house in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3. or 400. pounds a yeare; yet went thither with little or nothing.

Good Hospitality.

They have some tame geese, ducks, and turkies. The masters now do so traine up their servants and youth in shooting deere, and fowle, that the youths will kill them as well as their Masters. They have two brew-houses, but they

[1629] finde the *Indian* corne so much better than ours, they beginne to leave sowing it [*i.e.*, *wheat*].

Their Cities and Townes are onely scattered houses, they call plantations, as are our Country Villages, but no Ordnance mounted.

The Forts Captaine *Smith* left a building, [are] so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were.

No discoveries of any thing more than the curing of Tobacco, by which hitherto, being so present a commodity of gaine, it hath brought them to this abundance; but that they are so disjoynted, and every one commander of himselfe, to plant what he will.

Commodities worth making, Blacke Walnut, Ash for Pikes, Oke for planks, knees for Ships, Cipresse for Chests, &c.

They are now so well provided that they are able to subsist; and if they would joine together now to worke upon Sope-ashes, Iron, Rape-oile, Mader, Pitch and Tarre, Flax and Hempe; as for their Tobacco; there comes from many places such abundance, and the charge so great, it is not worth the bringing home.

There is gone, and now a going, divers Ships, as Captaine *Perse*, Captaine *Prine*, and Sir *John Harvy* to be their governour, with two or three hundred people: there is also some from *Bristow*, and other parts of the West Country a preparing: which I heartily pray to God to blesse, and send them a happy and prosperous voyage.

Nathaniel Causie, Master *Hutchins*, Master *Floud*, *Iohn Davis*, *William Emerson*, Master *William Barnet*, Master *Cooper*, and others. [45]

CHAPTER XXII.

The proceedings and present estate of the Summer Iles, *from* An. Dom. 1624 *to this present* 1629.

FRom the *Summer Iles*, Master *Ireland*, [1622-9] and divers others report, their Forts, Ordnance, and proceedings, are much as they were in the yeare 1622. as you may read in the generall History, page 199 [*p.* 686]. Captaine *Woodhouse* [is] governour. There are few sorts of any fruits in the *West Indies*, but they grow there in abundance; yet the fertility of the soile in many places decayeth, being planted every yeare. For their Plantaines, which is a most delicate fruit, they have lately found a way by pickling or drying them, to bring them over into *England*, there being no such fruit in *Europe*, and wonderfull for increase. For fish, flesh, figs, wine, and all sorts of most excellent hearbs, fruits, and rootes they have in abundance.

In this Governours time, a kinde of *Whale*, or rather a *Iubarta*, was driven on shore in *Southampton* tribe from the west, over an infinite number of rocks, so bruised, that the water in the Bay where she lay, was all oily, and the rocks about it all bedasht with Parmacitty, congealed like ice: a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any byle, hurt, or bruise; some burnt it in their lamps, which blowing out, the very snuffe will burne, so long as there is any of the oile remaining, for two or three dayes together.

The next Governour, was Captaine *Philip Bell*, whose

[1629] time being expired, Captaine *Roger Wood* possessed his place, a worthy Gentleman of good desert, and hath lived a long time in the Country.

The present estate of the *Summer Isles.* 1629. Their numbers are about two or three thousand, men, women, and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint, is want of apparell, and too much custome [*import duties*], and too many officers; the pity is, there are more men than women, yet no great mischiefe, because there is so much lesse pride; the cattell they have increase exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the Merchants here, and Planters there; to be briefe, this isle is an excellent bit, to rule a great horse.

[*pp.* 629, 630.] All the Cohow birds and Egbirds are gone; seldome any wilde cats seene; no Rats to speake of; but the wormes are yet very troublesome; the people very healthfull; and the Ravens gone; fish enough but not so neere the shore as it used, by the much beating [of] it. It is an Ile that hath such a rampire and a ditch, and for the quantity so manned, victualled, and fortified, as few in the world doe exceed it, or is like it.

An evill mischance. The 22. of March[1629], two ships came from thence; the *Peter Bonaventure*, neere two hundred tunnes, and sixteene peeces of Ordnance; the Captaine, *Thomas Sherwin*; the Master, Master *Edward Some*, like him in condition, a goodly, lusty, proper, valiant man: the *Lydia*, wherein was Master *Anthony Thorne*, a smaller ship. [They] were chased by eleuen ships of *Dunkerk*; being thus overmatched, Captaine *Sherwin* was taken by them in *Turbay*, only his valiant Master was slaine. The ship with about seventy *English* men, they carried betwixt *Dover* and *Callis*, to *Dunkerk*; but the *Lydia* safely recovered *Dartmouth*.

These noble adventurers for all those losses, patiently doe beare them; but they hope the King and state will understand it is worth keeping, though it afford nothing but Tobacco, and that now worth little or nothing, custome and fraught payed: yet it is worth keeping, and not supplanting; though great men feele not those losses, yet Gardiners, Carpenters, and Smiths doe pay for it.

From the relation of *Robert Chesteven*, and others.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The proceedings and present estate of New England, *since* 1624. *to this present* 1629.

WHen I went first [1614] to the North part of *Virginia*, where the Westerly Colony had beene planted, it had dissolved it selfe within a yeare [1606–7], and there was not one *Christian* in all the land. [1606-14]

I was set forth at the sole charge of foure Merchants of *London*; the Country being then reputed by your westerlings, a most rockie, barren, desolate desart; but the good returne I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the Country, which I made so manifest, some of them did beleeve me; and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings: for whom I had promised to undertake it, thinking to have joined them all together; but that might well have beene a worke for *Hercules*. [*ff.* 187, 240, 256, 697, 936.]

Considerations about the losse of time.

Betwixt them long there was much contention; the Londoners indeed went bravely forward; but in three or foure yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the *Plimothians*; who only fed me with delayes, promises, and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose.

In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true; and that I had not taken that I brought home from the *French* men, as had beene reported: yet further for my paines to discredit me, and my calling it *New England*, they obscured it, and shadowed it, with the title of *Canada*; till at my humble suit, it

[1614] pleased our most Royall King *Charles*, whom God long keepe, blesse, and preserve, then Prince of *Wales*, to confirme it with my map and booke, by the title of *New England*.

The gaine thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty saile went yearly only to trade and fish; but nothing would bee done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownists of *England*, *Amsterdam*, and *Leyden*, went to *New Plimouth*, whose humorous ignorances caused them, for more than a yeare [1620–1621], to endure a wonderfull deale of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe: many other have used the [47] like good husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their selfe-willed conclusions.

The effect of niggardlinesse.

[*pp.* 941, 943.]

But those [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] in time doing well, divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves; but most vanished to nothing.

[*p.* 947.] Notwithstanding, the fishing ships made such good returnes, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattenties, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares; but money not comming in as they expected, [they] procured a Proclamation, none should goe thither without their licences to fish; but for every thirty tunnes of shipping, to pay them five pounds: besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut downe wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction; though all the Country is nothing but wood, and none to make use of it. With many such other pretences, for to make this Country plant it selfe, by its owne wealth: hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would goe; so that the Pattenties, who never one of them had beene there, seeing those projects would not prevaile, have since not hindred any to goe that would, [so] that within these few last yeares, more have gone thither than ever.

A new plantation. 1629. Now this yeare 1629. a great company of people of good ranke, zeale, meanes, and quality, have made a great stocke, and with six good ships in the moneths of Aprill and May [1629], they set saile from *Thames*, for the Bay of the *Massachusetts*, otherwise called *Charles* River; viz. the

George Bonaventure, of twenty peeces of Ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteene, the *Lions-whelpe* eight, the *May-flower* fourteene, the *Foure Sisters*, foureteene, the *Pilgrim* foure, with three hundred and fifty, men, women, and children; also an hundred and fifteene head of Cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beast; one and forty goats, some Conies, with all provision for houshold, and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corselets, Drums, Colours, with all provisions necessary for a plantation, for the good of man. [1629]

Other particulars I understand of no more, than is writ in the generall historie of those Countries.

But you are to understand, that the noble Lord chiefe Justice *Popham*, Judge *Doderege*; the Right Honourable Earles of *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Salesbury*, and the rest, as I take it, they did all thinke, as I and them [that] went with me did: [p. 932.]

That had those two Countries beene planted, as it was intended, that no other nation should come plant betwixt us. If ever the King of *Spaine* and we should fall foule, those Countries being so capable of all materialls for shipping, by this [they] might have beene owners of a good Fleet of ships, and to have releeved a whole Navy from *England* upon occasion; yea, and to have furnished *England* with the most Easterly [*i.e.*, *Baltic*] commodities: and now since, seeing how conveniently the *Summer Iles* fell to our shares, so neere the *West Indies*, wee might with much more facility than the *Dutchmen* have invaded the *West Indies*; that doth now put in practice, what so long hath beene advised on, by many an honest *English* States-man.

Notes of inconveniencie.

Those Countries Captaine *Smith* oft times used to call his children that never had mother; and well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for so little content; and for those that would truly understand, how [**48**] many strange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. Had his designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, though few doth con- [p. 770.] [p. 945.]

[1629] ceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor th power nor care to defend it; or some new Invention t passe to the South Sea; or some strange plot to invad some strange Monastery: or some portable Countrie; some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Carocks in th *East Indies*; or Letters of Mart to rob some poore Me chants; what multitudes of both people and mony, woul contend to be first imployed: but in those noble e devours (now) how few of quality, unlesse it be to be some Monopolie; and those seldome seeke the commo good, but the commons goods; as you may reade at larg in his generall history, page 217, 218, 219. [*pp.* 722–72 his generall observations and reasons for this plantation

For yet those Countries are not so forward but they ma become as miserable as ever, if better courses be n taken than is; as this *Smith* will plainly demonstrate t his Majesty; or any other noble person of ability, liab generously to undertake it: how within a short time t make *Virginia* able to resist any enemy, that as yet lie open to all; and yeeld the King more custome with these few yeares, in certaine staple commodities, tha ever it did in Tobacco; which now not being wort bringing home, the custome will bee as uncertaine to th King, as dangerous to the plantations.

CHAPTER XXIIII.

A briefe discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly Countrey of Guiana, *and the great River of the* Amazons; *relating also the present Plantation there.*

IT is not unknowen how that most industrious and honourable Knight Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, in the yeare of our Lord 1595. taking the Ile of *Trinidado*, fell with the Coast of *Guiana* Northward of the Line ten degrees, and coasted the Coast; and searched up the River *Oranoca*; where understanding that twentie severall voyages had beene made by the *Spanyards*, in discovering this Coast and River; to finde a passage to the great Citie of *Mano*[*a*], called by them the *Eldorado*, or the Golden Citie: he did his utmost to have found some better satisfaction than relations. [1595–1610]

Sparrow left to seeke the great Citie of *Mano*[*a*].

But meanes failing him, hee left his trustie servant *Francis Sparrow* to seeke it, who wandring up and downe those Countreyes, some foureteene or fifteene yeares [1595–1610] unexpectedly returned. I [*i.e.*, *Smith*] have heard him [*Sparrow*] say [*in* 1611], he was led blinded into this Citie by *Indians*; but little discourse of any purpose touching the largenesse of the report of it; his body seeming as a man of an uncurable consumption, [he] shortly dyed hereafter in *England*.

There are above thirtie faire rivers that fall into the

[1605-17] Sea, betweene the River of *Amazons* and *Oranoca*, which are some nine degrees asunder. [**49**]

Captaine *Charle Ley.* In the yeare 1605. Captaine *Ley*, brother to that noble Knight Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himselfe in the River *Weapoco*, wherein I should have beene a partie; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried: and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Sir *Thomas Roe.* Sir *Thomas Roe*, well knowen to be a most noble Gentlemen, before he went Lord Ambassadour to the Great *Magoll*, or the Great *Turke*, spent a yeare or two upon this Coast, and about the River of the *Amazones*; wherein he

Captain *Morton.* most imployed Captaine *Matthew Morton* [*pp.* 5, 91], an expert Sea-man in the discoverie of this famous River: a Gentleman that was the first shot and mortally supposed wounded to death with me in *Virginia*, yet since hath beene

Captaine *White.* twice with command in the *East Indies*. Also Captaine *William White*, and divers others worthy and industrious Gentlemen, both before and since, hath spent much time and charge to discover it more perfitly; but nothing more effected for a Plantation, till it was undertaken by Captaine *Robert Harcote*, 1609.

Captain *Harcote.* This worthy Gentleman, after he had by Commission made a discoverie to his minde, left his brother *Michael Harcote*, with some fiftie or sixtie men in the River *Weapoco*, and so presently returned to *England*, where he obtained by the favour of Prince *Henrie*, a large Patent for all that Coast called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazones*, to him and his heires: but so many troubles here surprized him, though he did his best to supply them, he was not able; only some few hee sent over as passengers with certaine *Dutch-men*, but to small purpose.

Thus this businesse lay dead for divers yeeres, till Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, accompanied with many valiant Souldiers and brave Gentlemen, went his last voyage to *Guiana* [1617], amongst the which was Captaine *Roger North*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Dudley North*, who upon this voyage having stayed and seene divers Rivers upon this Coast, tooke such a liking to those Countreyes: having had before this voyage more perfect and particular information of the excellencie of the great River of the *Amazones* above any of the rest, by certaine *Englishmen*

returned so rich from thence in good commodities, they would not goe with Sir *Walter Rauleigh* in search of gold; that after his returne for *England*, he endevoured by his best abilities to interest his Countrey and state in those faire Regions, which by the way of Letters Patents unto divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of qualitie, erected into a company and perpetuitie for trade and plantation, not knowing of the Interest of Captaine *Harcote*. [1617-26]

Whereupon accompanied with 120. Gentlemen and others, with a ship, a pinnace, and two shallops, to remaine in the Countrey, hee set saile from *Plimouth* the last of April 1620; and within seven weekes after hee arrived well in the *Amazones*, only with the losse of one old man: some hundred leagues they ran up the River to settle his men, where the sight of the Countrey and people so contented them, that never men thought themselves more happie. Some *English* and *Irish* that had lived there some eight yeeres [1612–1620], only supplyed by the *Dutch*; hee reduced [*joined*] to his company and to leave the *Dutch*. Captaine *Roger North*.

Having made a good voyage, to the value of more than the charge, he returned to *England* with divers good [**50**] commodities, besides Tobacco.

So that it may well be conceived, that if this action had not beene thus crossed, the Generalitie of *England* had by this time beene wonne and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come, that God would have this great businesse effected, by reason of the great power the Lord *Gundamore*, Ambassadour for the King of *Spaine*, had in *England*, to crosse and ruine those proceedings: and so unfortunate Captaine *North* was in this businesse, hee was twice committed prisoner to the Tower, and the goods detained till they were spoiled; who beyond all others was by much the greatest Adventurer and Loser.

Notwithstanding all this, those that he had left in the *Amazons* would not abandon the Countrey. Captaine *Thomas Painton*, a worthy Gentleman, his Lieutenant, [being] dead: Captaine *Charles Parker*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Morley*, lived there six yeares after; Master *Iohn Christmas*, five yeares; so well, they would not returne, although they might, with divers other Gentlemen of qualitie and others: all thus destitute of any *Nota bene*

[1626-9] supplyes from *England*. But all authoritie being dissolved, want of government did more wrong their proceedings, than all other crosses whatsoever. Some releefe they had sometime from the *Dutch*; who knowing their estates, gave what they pleased and tooke what they list.

Two brothers, Gentlemen, *Thomas* and *William Hixon*, who stayed three yeares there, are now gone to stay in the *Amazons*, in the ships lately sent thither.

[*p.* 900.] The businesse thus remaining in this sort, three private men left of that Company, named Master *Thomas Warriner*, *Iohn Rhodes*, and *Robert Bims*, having lived there about two yeares, came for *England*: and to be free from the disorders that did grow in the *Amazons* for want of Government amongst their Countrey-men, and to be quiet amongst themselves, made meanes to set themselves out for St. *Christophers*; their whole number being but fifteene persons, that payed for their passage in a ship going for *Virginia*: where they remained a yeare [28 *Ian.* 1623 *to* 18 *Mar.* 1624, *see p.* 900] before they were supplyed, and then that was but foure or five men.

Thus this Ile, by this small beginning, having no interruption by their owne Countrey, hath now got the start of the Continent and maine Land of *Guiana*, which hath beene layd apart and let alone untill that Captaine *North*, ever watching his best opportunitie and advantage of time in the state, hath now againe pursued and set on foot his former designe. Captaine *Harcote* being now willing to surrender his grant, and to joyne with Captaine *North* in passing a new Patent, and to erect a company for trade and plantation in the *Amazons*, and all the Coast and Countrey of *Guiana* for ever.

Whereupon they have sent this present yeare in Ianuarie [1629], and since 1628. foure ships with neere two hundred persons; [of] the first ship with 112 men, not one miscarried; the rest went since, [and are] not yet heard of, and [that] are preparing another with their best expedition. And since Ianuarie [1629] is gone from *Holland*, 100. *English* and *Irish*, conducted by the old Planters.

This great River lieth under the Line, the two chiefe

head lands North and South, are about three degrees asunder, the mouth of it is [**51**] so full of many great and small Iles, it is an easie matter for an unexperienced Pilot to lose his way. It is held one of the greatest rivers in *America*, and as most men thinke, in the world: and commeth downe with such a fresh, it maketh the Sea fresh more than thirtie miles from the shore. [1628-9]

Captaine *North* having seated his men about an hundred leagues in the Maine, sent Captaine *William White*, with thirtie Gentlemen and others, in a pinnace of thirtie tun, to discover further: which they did some two hundred leagues, where they found the River to divide it selfe in two parts, till then all full of Ilands, and a Countrey most healthfull, pleasant and fruitful; for they found food enough, and all returned safe and in good health.

'In this discoverie, they saw many Townes well inhabited, some with three hundred people, some with five, six, or seven hundred; and of some they understood to be of so many thousands, most differing verie much, especially in their languages: whereof they suppose by those *Indians* they understand, are many hundreds more, unfrequented till then by any *Christian*; most of them starke naked, both men, women and children, but they saw not any such giant-like women as the Rivers name importeth.

But for those where Captaine *North* hath seated his company, it is not knowen where *Indians* were ever so kinde to any Nation; not sparing any paines, danger or labour, to feed and maintaine them. The *English* following their buildings, fortifications and sugar-workes; for which they have sent most expert men, and with them all things necessarie for that purpose: to effect which, they want not the helpe of those kinde *Indians* to produce; and many other good commodities, which (God willing) will ere long make plaine and apparent to this Kingdome, and all the Adventurers and Well-willers to this Plantation, to bee well worthy the cherishing and following with all alacritie.

1623. CHAPTER XXV.

The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St. Christopher *by Captaine* Warner.

[1623-4] MAster *Ralfe Merifield* and others, having furnished this worthy industrious Gentleman, hee arrived at St. *Chrls-tophers*, as is said, with fifteene men, the 28. of Ianuarie, 1623. viz. *William Tested*, *Iohn Rhodes*, *Robert Bims*, Master *Benifield*, Sergeant *Iones*, Master *Ware*, *William Royle*, *Rowland Grascocke*, Master *Bond*, Master *Langley*, Master *Weaver*, *Edward Warner* their Captaines sonne (and now Deputy-Governour till his fathers returne), Sergeant *Aplon*, one Sailor and a Cooke.

At their arrivall they found three *French-men*, who sought to oppose Captaine *Warner*, and to set the *Indians* upon us; but at last we all became friends, and lived with the *Indians* a moneth. Then we built a Fort, and a house: and planting fruits, by September [1623] we made a crop of Tobacco; but upon the nineteenth of September came a *Hericano* and blew it away: all this while wee lived upon Cassada bread, Potatoes, Plantines, Pines, [**52**] Turtels, Guanes [*lizards*, *p.* 904], and fish plentie; for drinke wee had *Nicnobbie*.

A *Hericano.*

1624. The 18. of March 1624. arrived Captaine *Jefferson* with three men passengers in the *Hope-well* of *London*, with some trade for the Indians, and then we had another crop of Tobacco. In the meane time the *French* had planted themselves in the other end of the Ile; with this

crop Captaine *Warner* returned for *England* in September, [1625-7] 1625.

In his absence came in a French pinnace, under the command of *Monsieur de Nombe*, that told us the *Indians* had slaine some *French-men* in other of the *Charybes* Iles, and that there were six Peryagoes, which are huge great trees formed as your Canowes, but so laid out on the sides with boords, they will seeme like a little Gally. 1625.

Six of those, with about foure or five hundred strange *Indians*, came unto us. We bade them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the *French* joyned together, and upon the fifth of November [1625] set upon them, and put them to flight. Their fight with the *Indians*.

Upon New-yeares Even [31 *Dec.* 1625] they came againe, found three *English* going about the Ile, whom they slue.

Untill the fourth of August [1626], we stood upon our guard, living upon the spoile and did nothing. 1626.

But now Captaine *Warner* arriving againe with neere an hundred people, then we fell to worke and planting as before; but upon the fourth of September, came such a Hericano, as blewe downe all our houses, Tobacco, and two Drums into the aire we know not whither, [and] drove two ships on shore that were both split. A Hericano.

All our provision thus lost, we were very miserable, living onely on what we could get in the wilde woods. We made a small party of *French* and *English* to goe aboord for provision: but in their returning home, eight *French* men were slaine in the harbour. Eight French slaine.

Thus wee continued till neere Iune that the *Tortels* came in, 1627.: but the *French* being like[ly] to starve, sought to surprize us, and all the Cassado, Potato[e]s, and Tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them. 1627.

The 26. of October [1627], came in Captaine *William Smith*, in the *Hopewell*, with some Ordnance, shot and powder, from the Earle of *Carlile*; with Captaine *Pelham* and thirty men. About that time also came the *Plow*; also a small ship of *Bristow*, with Captaine *Warners* wife, and six or seven women more.

Vpon the 25. of November [1627], the *Indians* set upon the *French*, for some injury about their women; and slew six and twentie *French* men, five *English*, and three *Indians*. Three *Indians* slaine.

[1627-9] Their weapons are bowes and arrowes; their bowes are never bent, but the string lies flat to the bow; their arrowes [are] a small reed, foure or five foot long, headed some with the poysoned sting of the taile of a Stingray, some with iron, some with wood, but all so poysoned, that if they draw but bloud, the hurt is incurable.

The arrivall of many English ships.

The next day [26 *Nov.* 1627] came in Captaine *Charles Saltonstall*, a young Gentleman, son of Sir *Samuell Saltonstall*, who brought with him good store of all commodities to releeve the plantation; but by reason some *Hollanders*, and others, had bin there lately before him, who carried away with them all the Tobacco, he was forced to put away all his commodities upon trust till the next crop; in the meane time hee resolved there to stay, and imploy himselfe and his company in planting Tobacco, hoping [**53**] thereby to make a voyage. But before he could be ready to returne for *England*, a *Hericano* hapning, his ship was split, to his great losse, being sole Merchant and owner himselfe, notwithstanding forced to pay to the Governour, the fift part of his Tobacco, and for fraught to *England*, three pence a pound, and nine pence a pound custome, which amounts together to more than threescore pound in the hundred pound, to the great discouragement of him and many others, that intended well to those plantations.

Neverthelesse he is gone againe this present yeare 1629. with a ship of about three hundred tunnes, and very neere two hundred people, with Sir *William Tuffton* Governour for the *Barbados*, and divers gentlemen, and all manner of commodities fit for a plantation.

Captaine *Prinne*, Captaine *Stone*, and divers others, came in about *Christmas* [1628]; so that this last yeare [1628] there hath beene about thirtie saile of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* ships; and all the *Indians* [are] forced out of the Ile: for they had done much mischiefe amongst the *French*, in cutting their throats, burning their houses, and spoyling their Tobacco. Amongst the rest *Tegramund*, a little childe the Kings sonne, his parents being slaine or fled, was by great chance saved, and carefully brought to *England* by Master *Merifield*, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his owne children.

[1629]

It lyeth seventeene degrees Northward of the line, about an hundred and twenty leagues from the *Cape de tres Puntas*, the neerest maine land in *America*. It is about eight leagues in length, and foure in bredth; an Iland amongst 100. Iles in the *West Indies*, called the *Caribes*, where ordinarily all them that frequent the *West Indies*, refresh themselves. Those most of them are rocky, little, and mountainous, yet frequented with the *Canibals*; many of them inhabited, as Saint *Domingo*, Saint *Mattalin*, Saint *Lucia*, Saint *Vincent*, *Granada* and *Margarita*, to the Southward; Northward, none but Saint *Christophers*, and it but lately: yet they will be ranging *Marigalanta*, *Guardalupo*, *Deceado*, *Monserat*, *Antigua*, *Mevis*, *Bernardo*, Saint *Martin*, Saint *Bartholomew*. But the worst of the foure Iles possessed by the *Spanyard*, as *Portorico*, or *Iam*[*a*]*ica*, is better than them all; as for *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, they are worthy the title of two rich Kingdomes: the rest [are] not respected by the *Spanyards*, for want of harbors; and their better choice of good land, and profit in the maine [*Mainland*].

The description of the Ile.

But Captaine *Warner*, having beene very familiar with Captain *Painton* in the *Amazon*, hearing his information of this St. *Christophers*; and having made a yeares tryall, as it is said, returned for *England*, joyning with Master *Merifield*, and his friends, got Letters Pattents, from King *Iames*, to plant and possesse it.

Since then, the Right Honourable the Earle of *Carlile*, hath got Letters Pattents also, not only of that, but all the *Caribes* Iles about it, who is now chiefe Lord of them, and the *English* his tenants, that doe possesse them; over whom he appointeth such Governours and Officers, as their affaires require; and although there be a great custome imposed upon them, considering their other charges, both to feed and maintaine themselves; yet there is there, and now a going, neere upon the number of three thousand people: where by reason of the rockinesse and thicknesse of the woods in the Ile, it is [54] difficult to passe, and such a snuffe [*breakers*] of the Sea goeth on the shore, ten may better defend than fifty assault. In this Ile are many springs, but yet water is scarce againe in many places; the valleyes and sides of the hills very fertile, but the

The springs, temper, and seasons.

[1629] mountaines harsh, and of a sulphurous composition; all overgrowne with *Palmetas, Cotten* trees, *Lignum vitæ*, and divers other sorts, but none like any in *Christendome*, except those carried thither. The aire [is] very pleasant and healthfull, but exceeding hot, yet so tempered with coole breaths, it seemes very temperate to them that are a little used to it; the trees being alwaies greene, the daies and nights alwayes very neere equall in length, alwayes Summer; only they have in their seasons great gusts and raines, and sometimes a Hericano, which is an overgrowne and a most violent storme.

A strange hatching of egges for beasts. In some of those Iles, are cattell, goats, and hogges, but here none but what they must carry; *Gwanes* they have, which is a little harmlesse beast, like a *Crokadell*, or *Aligator*, very fat and good meat. She layes egges in the sand, as doth the land Crabs, which live here in abundance, like Conies in Boroughs, unlesse about May, when they come downe to the Sea side, to lay in the sand, as the other; and all their egges are hatched by the heat of the Sunne.

Fish. From May to September they have good store of *Tortasses*, that come out of the Sea to lay their egges in the sand, and are hatched as the other; they will lay halfe a pecke at a time, and neere a bushell ere they have done; and are round like Tenis-balls: this fish is like veale in taste, the fat of a brownish colour very good and wholsome. We seeke them in the nights, where we finde them on shore, we turne them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home. For they can never returne themselves, being so hard a cart may goe over them; and so bigge, one will suffice forty or fifty men to dinner. Divers sorts of other fish they have in abundance, and *Prawnes* most great and excellent, but none will keepe sweet scarce twelve houres.

Birds. The best and greatest is a *Passer Flaminga*, which walking at her length is as tall as a man; *Pigeons* and *Turtle Doves* in abundance; some *Parrots*, wilde *Hawkes*, but divers other sorts of good Sea fowle, whose names we know not.

Roots. *Cassado* is a root planted in the ground, of a wonderfull increase, and will make very good white bread: but the

juyce ranke poyson, yet boyled, better than wine; *Potatos*, *Cabbages*, and *Radish* plenty. [1629]

Mayes, like the *Virginia* wheat; we have Pine-apples, neere so bigge as an Hartichocke, but the most daintiest taste of any fruit; *Plantains*, an excellent, and a most increasing fruit; Apples, Prickell Peares, and Pease but differing all from ours. There is Pepper that groweth in a little red huske, as bigge as a Walnut, about foure inches in length, but the long cods are small, and much stronger, and better for use, than that from the *East Indies*.

There is two sorts of Cotten, the silke Cotten as in the *East Indies*, groweth upon a small stalke, as good for beds as downe; the other upon a shrub, and beareth a cod bigger than a Walnut, full of Cotten wooll. Anotto also groweth upon a shrub, with a cod like the other, and nine or ten on a bunch, full of Anotto, very [**55**] good for Dyers, though wilde. Sugar Canes, not tame, 4. or 5. foot high; also Masticke, and Locus trees; great and hard timber, Gourds, Muske Melons, Water Melons, Lettice, Parsly; all places naturally beare purslaine of it selfe; Sope-berries like a Musket-bullet, that washeth as white as Sope; in the middle of the root is a thing like a sedge, a very good fruit, we call Pengromes. A Pappaw is as great as an apple, coloured like an Orange, and good to eat. A small hard nut, like a hazell nut, growes close to the ground, and like this growes on the Palmetas, which we call a Mucca nut. Mustard-seed will grow to a great tree, but beares no seed, yet the leaves will make good mustard. The Mancinell tree the fruit is poyson; good figs in abundance: but the Palmeta serveth to build Forts and houses, the leaves to cover them, and many other uses; the juyce we draw from them (till we sucke them to death) is held restorative: and the top for meat doth serve us as Cabbage.

But oft we want poudered [*salted*] Beefe, and Bacon, and many other needfull necessaries.

By *Thomas Simons*, *Rowland Grascocke*, *Nicholas Burgh*, and others.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The first planting of the Barbados.

[1627] THe *Barbados* lies South-west and by South, an hundred leagues from Saint *Christophers*, threescore leagues West and South from *Trinidado*, and some fourescore leagues from *Cape de Salinos*, the next part of the maine.

The first planters brought thither by Captaine *Henry Powel*, were forty *English* with seven or eight *Negros*: then he went to *Disacuba* in the maine, where he got thirty *Indians*, men, women, and children, of the *Arawacos*, enemies both to the *Caribes*, and the *Spaniards*.

A description of the Ile.

The Ile is most like a triangle, each side forty or fifty miles square; some exceeding great rocks, but the most part exceeding good ground; abounding with an infinite number of Swine, some Turtles, and many sorts of excellent fish; many great ponds wherein is Ducke and Mallard; excellent clay for pots, wood and stone for building, and a spring neere the middest of the Ile, of Bitume: which is a liquid mixture like Tarre, that by the great raines falls from the tops of the mountaines; it floats upon the water in such abundance, that drying up, it remaines like great rocks of pitch, and as good as pitch for any use.

Fruits and trees.

The Mancinell apple, is of a most pleasant sweet smell, of the bignesse of a Crab, but ranke poyson, yet the Swine and Birds have wit to shun it; great store of exceeding great Locus trees, two or three fadome about, of a great

height, that beareth a cod full of meale, [that] will make bread in time of necessity. A tree like a Pine, beareth a fruit so great as a Muske Melon, which hath alwayes ripe fruit, flowers, or greene fruit, which will refresh two or three men, and very comfortable; Plumb trees [**56**] many, the fruit great and yellow, which but strained into water in foure and twenty houres will be very good drinke; wilde figge trees there are many. All those fruits doe fat the hogges; yet at some times of the yeare they are so leane, as carrion; Gwane trees beare a fruit so bigge as a Peare, good and wholsome; Palmetaes of three severall sorts; Papawes, Prickle Peares good to eat or make drinke; Cedar trees very tall and great; Fusticke trees are very great and the wood yellow, good for dying; sope berries, the kernell so bigge as a sloe, and good to eat; Pumpeons in abundance; Goads [*gourds*] so great as will make good great bottles, and, cut in two peeces, good dishes and platters; many small brooks of very good water; Ginni wheat, Cassado, Pines and Plantaines. All things we there plant doe grow exceedingly, so well as Tobacco. The corne, pease, and beanes, cut but away the stalke, young sprigs will grow, and so beare fruit for many yeares together, without any more planting. The Ile is overgrowne with wod or great reeds, those wods which are soft are exceeding light and full of pitch; and those that are hard, are so hard and great, they are as hard to cut as stone. [1627]

Their numbers.

Master *Iohn Powell* came thither the fourth of August 1627. with forty five men, where we stayed three weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an hundred people, and his sonne *Iohn Powell* for his Deputy, as Governour.

But there have beene so many factions amongst them, I cannot from so many variable relations give you any certainty for their orderly Government: for all those plenties, much misery they have endured, in regard of their weaknesse at their landing, and long stay without supplies; therefore those that goe thither, it were good they carry good provision with them; but the Ile is most healthfull, and all things planted doe increase abundantly: and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteene or sixteene hundred people.

[1627-9] Sir *William Curtine*, and Captaine *Iohn Powell*, were the first and chiefe adventurers to the planting this fortunate Ile; which had beene oft frequented by men of Warre to refresh themselves, and set up their shallops; being so farre remote from the rest of the Iles, they never were troubled with any of the *Indies*. Harbours they have none, but exceeding good Rodes; which with a small charge might bee very well fortified. It doth ebbe and flow foure or five foot, and they cannot perceive there hath ever beene any Hericano in that Ile.

From the relations of Captaine *Iohn White*, and Captaine *Wolverstone*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The first plantation of the Ile of Mevis.

BEcause I have ranged and lived amongst those Ilands; what my authours cannot tell me, I think it no great errour in helping them to tell it my selfe. [1607]

In this little Ile of *Mevis*, more than twenty yeares [**57**] agoe [28 *Mar.*—2 *Apr.* 1607; *see pp.* lix, 90, 386]. I have remained a good time together, to wo[o]d, and water and refresh my men. It is all woddy, but by the Sea side Southward there are sands like downes, where a thousand men may quarter themselves conveniently; but in most places the wod groweth close to the water side, at a high water marke, and in some places so thicke of a soft spungy wood like a wilde figge tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with hatchets, or fauchions. Whether it was the dew of those trees, or of some others, I am not certain, but many of our men became so tormented with a burning swelling all over their bodies, they seemed like scalded men, and neere mad with paine. The description of the Ile. The Bath.

Here we found a great Poole, wherein bathing themselves, they found much ease; and finding it fed with a pleasant small streame that came out of the woods, we found the head halfe a mile within the land, distilling from a many of rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three dayes.

[1607-28] Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made; but Captaine [*f.* xxii.] *Smith*, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them: but not any one of the inventers but their lives by justice fell into his power to determine of at his pleasure; whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly would have betrayed him.

A great misprison.

The last yeare, 1628., Master *Littleton*, with some others got a Pattent of the Earle of *Carlile*, to plant the Ile called the *Barbados*, thirty leagues Northward of Saint *Christophers*; which by report of their informers, and undertakers, for the excellencie and pleasantnesse thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there, they found it such a barren rocke, they left it.

Although they were told as much before, they would not beleeve it, perswading themselves, those contradicters would get it for themselves, was thus by their cunning opinion, the deceiver of themselves; for seeing it lie conveniently for their purpose in a map, they had not patience to know the goodnesse or badnesse, the inconvenience nor [*ff.* 892, 941, 943.] probabilities of the quality, nor quantity; which errour doth predominate in most of our homebred adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it; and the more they contradicted, the more hot they are.

But you may see, by many examples in the generall history, how difficult a matter it is, to gather the truth from amongst so many forren and severall relations, except you have exceeding good experience both of the Countries, people, and their conditions: and those ignorant undertakings, have beene the greatest hinderance of all those plantations.

Their numbers.

At last because they would be absolute, they came to *Mevis*, a little Ile by Saint *Christophers*; where they seated themselves, well furnished with all necessaries: being about the number of an hundred, and since increased to an hundred and fifty persons; whereof many were old planters of Saint *Christophers*, especially Master *Anthony Hinton*, and Master *Edward Thompson*.

But because all those Iles for most part are so capab'e

to produce, and in nature like each other, let this discourse serve for the description of them all. [1607-29]

THus much concerning those plantations, which now after all this time, losse, and charge, should they be abandoned, suppressed, and dissolved, were most lamentable; and surely seeing they all strive so much about this Tobacco, and that the fraught thereof, and other charges are so great, and so open to any enemie; by that commodity they cannot long subsist.

And it is a wonder to me to see such miracles of mischiefes in men; how [58] greedily they persue to dispossesse the planters of the Name of Christ Iesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the world is unpossessed; yea, and better land than they so much strive for, murthering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many cities, villages, and Countries, and subverting so many kingdomes, when so much lieth [v]vast[e], or only possessed by a few poore Savages, that more serve the Devill for feare, than God for love: whose ignorance we pretend to reforme, but couetousnesse, humours, ambition, faction, and pride, hath so many instruments, we performe very little to any purpose; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion, or hinderance of any honest intended christian plantation.

Certaine exploits of Captaine *Smith.*

NOw to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine *Smith*; how first he planted *Virginia*, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wilde woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and downe their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a sacrifice for their Idoll; before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations; then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter *Pocahontas*

[1608-16] saved his life, returned him to *James* towne, releeved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possesse those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations upon the rivers falling into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*; stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called Stingray: how [he drave] *Powhatan* out of his Country, tooke the Kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paspahegh* prisoners, forced thirty nine of those Kings to pay him contribution, [and] subjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for *England* to be cured:

Also how hee brought our new *England* to the subjection of the Kingdome of great *Britaine*; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many *French* men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the French against the *Spaniards*, their bad usage of him, how in *France* in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at Sea by himselfe, when thirteene *French* ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of *Ree*, the generall and most of his men drowned, when God to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped: you may read at large in his generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Iles*, and *New England*.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrats; and how they taught the Turks *and* Moores *to become men of warre.*

AS in all lands where there are many people, there are some theeves, so in all Seas much frequented, there are some pyrats; the most ancient within the memory of threescore yeares was one *Callis*, who most refreshed himselfe upon the Coast of *Wales*; *Clinton* and *Pursser* his companions, who grew famous, till Queene *Elizabeth* of blessed memory, hanged [**59**] them at *Wapping*; *Flemming* was as expert and as much sought for as they, yet such a friend to his Country, that discovering the *Spanish Armado*, he voluntarily came to *Plimouth*, yeelded himselfe freely to my Lord Admirall, and gave him notice of the *Spaniards* comming; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly, that he had his pardon, and a good reward. [1588–1603]

Some few Pirats there then remained; notwithstanding it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge; for there are so many difficulties in a great Navy, by wind and weather, victuall, sicknesse, losing and finding one another, they seldome defray halfe the charge: but for the grace, state, and defence of the Coast and narrow Seas, a great Navy is most necessary, but not to attempt any farre voyage,

The difficulties of a great Navie.

[1603-29] except there be such a competent stocke, [that] the want not wherewith to furnish and supply all things with expedition. But to the purpose.

What occasioneth Pirats.

After the death of our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, of blessed memory, our Royall King *Iames*, who from his infancie had reigned in peace with all Nations, had no imployment for those men of warre, so that those that were rich rested with that they had; those that were poore and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned Pirats; some, because they became sleighted of those for whom they had got much wealth; some, for that they could not get their due; some, that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetousnesse, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turne Pirats.

Their chiefe rendevouz.

Now because they grew hatefull to all *Christian* Princes, they retired to *Barbary*, where although there be not many good Harbours but *Tunis*, *Argier*, *Sally*, *Mamora*, and *Tituane*, there are many convenient Rodes, or the open Sea, which is theire chiefe Lordship. For their best harbours *Massalqueber*, the townes of *Oran*, *Mellila*, *Tanger*, and *Cuta*, within the Streights, are possessed by the *Spaniards*; without the Streights they have also *Arzella*, and *Mazagan*; *Mamora* likewise they [*the Spaniards*] have lately taken, and fortified.

Ward, a poore *English* sailer, and *Dansker* a *Dutchman*, made first here their Marts, when the *Moores* knew scarce how to saile a ship; *Bishop* was Ancient, and did little hurt; but *Easton* got so much, as made himselfe a Marquesse in *Savoy*; and *Ward* lived like a Bashaw in *Barbary*; those were the first that taught the *Moores* to be men of warre.

Gennings, *Harris*, *T*[*h*]*ompson*, and divers others, were taken in *Ireland*, a Coast they much frequented, and died [*i.e.*, *were hanged*] at *Wapping*. *Hewes*, *Bough*, *Smith*, *Walsingam*, *Ellis*, *Collins*, *Sawkwell*, *Wollistone*, *Barrow*, *Wilson*, *Sayres*, and divers others, all these were Captaines amongst the Pirats; whom King *James* mercifully pardoned: and was

it not strange, a few of these should command the Seas. [1629]
Notwithstanding the *Malteses*, the Pope, *Florentines*, *Genoeses*, *Dutch*, and *English*, Gallies and Men of Warre; they would rob before their faces, and even at their owne Ports, yet seldome more than three, foure, five or six in a Fleet: many times they had very good ships, and well manned, but commonly in such factions amongst themselves, and so riotous, quarrellous, treacherous, blasphemous, and villanous, [that] it is more than a wonder they could so long continue, to doe so much mischiefe; and all they got, they basely consumed it amongst *Jewes*, *Turks*, *Moores*, and whores. Their conditions.

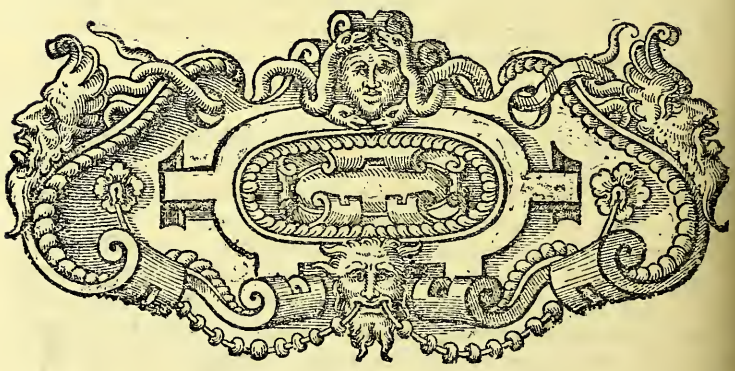
The best was, they would seldome goe to Sea, so long as they could [**60**] possibly live on shore, being compiled of *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Moores*, (but very few *Spanyards*, or *Italians*) commonly running one from another, till they became so disjoynted, disordered, debawched, and miserable, that the *Turks* and *Moores* beganne to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill: which many an accursed runnagado or *Christian* turned *Turke*, did, till they have made those Sally men, or *Moores* of *Barbary* so powerfull as they be, to the terror of all the Straights, and many times they take purchase [*prizes*] in the maine Ocean, yea sometimes even in the narrow Seas in *England*, and those are the most cruell villaines in *Turkie*, or *Barbarie*; whose natives are very noble, and of good natures, in comparison of them. Runnagados.

To conclude, the misery of a Pirate (although many are as sufficient Sea-men as any) yet in regard of his superfluity, you shall finde it such, that any wise man would rather live amongst wilde beasts than them; therefore let all unadvised persons take heed, how they entertaine that quality: and I could wish Merchants, Gentlemen, and all setters forth of ships, not to bee sparing of a competent pay, nor true payment; for neither Souldiers nor Sea-men can live without meanes, but necessity will force them to steale; and when they are once entered into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Advertisements for wilde heads.

Those titles of Sea-men and Souldiers, have beene most

[1629] worthily honoured and esteemed, but now regarded for most part, but as the scumme of the world; regaine therefore your wonted reputations, and endevour rather to adventure to those faire plantations of our *English* Nation; which however in the beginning were scorned and contemned, yet now you see how many rich and gallant people come from thence, who went thither as poore as any Souldier or Sailer, and gets more in one yeare, than you by Piracie in seven. I intreat you therefore to consider how many thousands yearely goe thither; also how many Ships and Sailers are imployed to transport them, and what custome they yearely pay to our most Royall King *Charles*; whose prosperity and his Kingdomes good, I humbly beseech the immortall God ever to preserve and increase.

FINIS.



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With the yearely proceedings of this Country in Fishing and Planting, since the yeare 1614. to the yeare 1630. and their present estate.

Also how to prevent the greatest inconveniences, by their proceedings in Virginia, *and other Plantations, by approved examples.*

With the Countries Armes, a description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Land-markes, Latitude and Longitude: with the Map, allowed by our Royal King CHARLES.

By Captaine IOHN SMITH, sometimes Governour of VIRGINIA, and Admirall of NEVV-ENGLAND.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND, and are to be sold by ROBERT MILBOVRNE, at the Grey-hound in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1631.

[This Work, the last one completed by our Author, was evidently written as a mark of good will to the Massachusetts Planters under Governor WINTHROP, who founded Boston in 1630.

It was evidently written in October 1630, as the passage on *p.* 955 shews; though it bears 1631 on the title page.

We even know where it was written.

"The high grove or tuft of trees upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir *Humphrey Mildmay*, so remarkable in *Essex* in the Parish of *Danbery*, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater." *p.* 950.

Though stated on the title page to be for sale, it was not entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, London.

For the bibliography of this Work see *p.* cxxxii.

"To the prevention whereof, I have not beene more willing, at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions su[i]ting my calling and profession to make good; and [to make] *Virginia* and *New-England*, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes." *pp.* 963–4.]


GENS · IN · COGNITA · MIHI · SERVIET

To the Most Reverend Father in God,
GEORGE Lord Arch-Bishop of CANTERBVRIE his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all ENGLAND:

AND

The Right Reverend Father in God,
SAMVEL Lord Arch-Bishop of YORKE his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of ENGLAND.

[1630] MY most Gracious Good Lords, I desire to leave testimony to the world, how highly I honour as well the Miter as the Lance: therefore where my last Booke presented three most honourable Earles with a subject of Warre [*p.* 808], and received from them favourable acceptance: the worke I now prosecute, concerning the Plantation of *New England*, for the increase of Gods Church, converting Salvages, and enlarging the Kings Dominions, prostrates it selfe humbly to your Graces; who as you are in the name of Prelacy to this Kingdome, so you are to mee in goodnesse, both Fathers and Protectors unexpectedly. God long preserve your Gracious lives, and continue favour

Vnto both your Graces most
devoted servant,
IOHN SMITH.

To the Reader.

HONEST READER.

APelles *by the proportion of a foot, could make the whole proportion of a man: were hee now living, he might goe to schoole, for now are thousands can by opinion proportion Kingdomes, Citics, and Lordships, that never durst adventure to see them. Malignancy, I expect from those, [that] have lived* 10. *or* 12. *yeares in those actions, and returne as wise as they went, claiming time and experience for their tutor, that can neither shift Sun nor Moone, nor say their Compasse, yet will tell you of more than all the world, betwixt the* Exchange, Pauls *and* Westminster*: so it be newes, it matters not what, that will passe currant when truth must be stayed with an army of conceits that can make or marre anything, and tell as well what all England is by seeing but* Milford *haven, as what* Apelles *was by the picture of his great toe.* [1630]

Now because examples give a quicker impression than arguments, I have writ this discourse to satisfie understanding, wisdome, and honesty; and not such as can doe nothing but finde fault with what they neither know nor can amend.

So I rest

Your friend

Iohn Smith.

The Sea Marke.

[1630]

Aloofe, aloofe; and come no neare,
the dangers doe appeare;
Which if my ruine had not beene
you had not seene:
I onely lie upon this shelfe
to be a marke to all
which on the same might fall,
That none may perish but my selfe.

If in or outward you be bound,
doe not forget to sound;
Neglect of that was cause of this
to steare amisse.
The Seas were calme, the wind was faire
that made me so secure,
that now I must indure
All weathers be they foule or faire.

The Winters cold, the Summers heat
alternatively beat
Upon my bruised sides, that rue
because too true
That no releefe can ever come.
But why should I despaire
being promised so faire
That there shall be a day of Dome.



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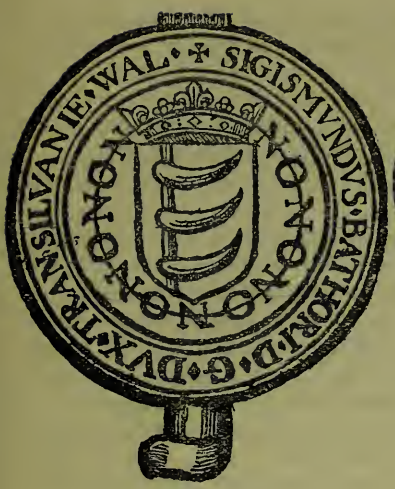
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OR,

The Path-way to Experience

to erect a Plantation.

CHAPTER I.

What people they are that beginne this plantation: the bane of Virginia: *strange misprisions of wise men.*

THe Warres in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*, taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in *Virginia* and *New-England*, in *America*; which now after many a stormy blast of ignorant contradictors, projectors, and undertakers, both they and I have beene so tossed and tortured into so many extremities, as despaire [1630]

[1629-30] was the next wee both [2] expected, till it pleased God now at last to stirre up some good mindes, that I hope will produce glory to God, honour to his Majesty, and profit to his Kingdomes: although all our Plantations have beene so foyled and abused, their best good willers have beene for the most part discouraged, and their good intents disgraced, as the generall History of them will at large truly relate [to] you.

No Brownist nor Separatist admitted.

Pardon me if I offend in loving that I have cherished truly, by the losse of my prime fortunes, meanes, and youth: If it over-glad me to see Industry her selfe adventure now to make use of my aged ende[a]vours, not by such (I hope) as rumour doth report, a many of discontented Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puritans, Separatists, and such factious Humorists: for no such they will suffer among them, if knowne, as many of the chiefe of them [*John Winthrop &c.*] have assured mee; and the much conferences I have had with many of them, doth confidently perswade me to write thus much in their behalfe.

I meane not the Brownists of *Leyden* and *Amsterdam* at *New-Plimoth*, who although by accident, ignorance, and wilfulnesse, [they] have endured, with a wonderfull patience, many losses and extremities; yet they subsist and prosper so well, not any of them will abandon the Country, but to the utmost of their powers increase their numbers. But

What they are that beginne this Plantation.

of those which are gone within this eighteene moneths [*April* 1629—*Oct.* 1630] for Cape *Anne*, and the Bay of the *Massachusets*. Those which are their chiefe Vndertakers are Gentlemen of good estate, some of 500, some a thousand pound land a yeere, all which they say they will sell for the advancing [of] this harmlesse and pious worke; men of good credit and well-beloved in their Country [*district*], not such as flye for debt, or any scandall at home; and are good Catholike Protestants according to the reformed Church of *England*, if not, it is well they are gone. The rest of them men of good meanes, or Arts, Occupations, and Qualities, much more fit for such a businesse, and better furnished of all necessaries if they arrive well, than was ever any Plantation went out of *England*.

I will not say but some of them may be more precise than needs, nor that they all be so good as they should be; [3]

for Christ had but twelve apostles, and one was a traitor : and if there be no dissemblers among them, it is more than a wonder ; therefore doe not condemne all for some. But however they have as good authority from his Majesty as they could desire : if they doe ill, the losse is but their owne ; if well, a great glory and exceeding good to this Kingdome, to make good at last what all our former conclusions have disgraced. [1622-30]

Now they take not that course the *Virginia* company did for the Planters there, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in *London* who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits : every yeare trying new conclusions, altering every thing yearely as they altered opinions, till they had consumed more than two hundred thousand pounds, and neere eight thousand mens lives. *The bane of Virginia.*

It is true, in the yeere of our Lord 1622. they were, the Company in *England* say 7. or 8. thousand : the Counsell in *Virginia* say but 2200. or thereabouts, English indifferently well furnished with most necessaries, and many of them grew to that height of bravery, living in that plenty and excesse, that went thither not worth any thing, [that] made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there ; and all this proceeded by surviving those that died : nor were they ignorant to use as curious tricks there as here, and out of the juice of Tabacco, which at first they sold at such good rates, they regarded nothing but Tabacco ; a commodity then so vendable, it provided them all things. And the loving Salvages their kinde friends, they trained so well up to shoot in a Peece, to hunt and kill them fowle, they became more expert than our owne Country-men ; whose labours were more profitable to their Masters in planting Tabacco and other businesse.

This superfluity caused my poore beginnings [to be] scorned, or to be spoken of but with much derision, that never sent Ship from thence fraught, but onely some small quantities of Wainscot, Clap-board, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Sope-ashes, Glasse, Cedar, Cypresse, Blacke Walnut, Knees for Ships, Ash for Pikes, Iron Ore none better, some Silver Ore but so poore it was not regarded ; better there may be, for I *The differences betwixt my beginning in Virginia, and the proceedings of my successors.* [*p.* 932.]

[1607-9] was no Mineralist; [4] some Sturgion, but it was too tart of the Vinegar (which was of my owne store, for little came from them which was good); and Wine of the Countries wilde Grapes, but it was too sowre; yet better than they sent us any, [which was] in two or three years but one Hogshead of Claret. Onely spending my time to revenge my imprisonment upon the harmlesse innocent Salvages, who by my cruelty I forced to feed me with their contribution; and to send any [who] offended my idle humour to *Iames* towne to punish at mine owne discretion; or keepe their Kings and subjects in chaines, and make them worke. Things cleane contrary to my Commission; whilst I and my company tooke our needlesse pleasures in discovering the Countries about us, building of Forts, and such unnecessary fooleries, where an Egge-shell (as they writ) had beene sufficient against such enemies; neglecting to answer the Merchants expectations with profit, feeding the Company onely with Letters and tastes of such commodities as we writ the Country would afford in time by industry, as Silke, Wines, Oyles of Olives, Rape, and Linsed, Rasons, Prunes, Flax, Hempe, and Iron. As for Tobacco, wee never then dreamt of it.

[*Smith*'s ironical description of the malicious charges against his gouernment in Virginia.]

Now because I sent not their ships full fraught home with those commodities; they kindly writ to me, if we failed the next returne, they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure; with such tedious Letters, directions, and instructions, and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire [*wonder*] how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities: making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Iewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tobacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkemen, with [not only] all their appurtenances but materialls, and all those had great summes out of the common stocke; and [were] so many spies and super-intendents over us, as if they supposed we would turne Rebels, all striving [5] to suppresse and advance they knew not what.

[*p.* 442.]

A strange mistake in wise men.

At last [they] got a Commission in their owne names, promising the King custome within seven yeares, where[as] we were free for one and twenty; appointing the Lord *De-la-ware* for Governour, with as many great and stately officers, and offices under him, as doth belong to a great Kingdome, with good summes for their extraordinary expences; also privileges for Cities; Charters for Corporations, Universities, Free-scholes, and Glebe-land; putting all those in practice before there was either people, students, or schollers to build or use them, or provision or victuall to feed them [that] were then there: and to amend this, most of the Tradesmen in *London* that would adventure but twelue pounds ten shillings, had the furnishing [of] the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such jug[g]ling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committies [*Committee men*] their associats, that all the trash they could get in *London* was sent us to *Virginia*, they being well payed [as] for that [which] was good. [1609 24]

Much they blamed us for not converting the Salvages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse; nor did they all, convert any of those [*natives*] we sent them to *England* for that purpose. So doating of Mines of gold, and the South Sea; that all the world could not have devised better courses to bring us to ruine than they did themselves, with many more such like strange conceits.

By this you may avoid the like inconveniences, and take heed by those examples, you have not too many irons in the fire at once; neither such change of Governours, nor such a multitude of Officers; neither more Masters, Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, and children, than you have men to worke, which idle charge you will finde very troublesome, and the effects dangerous: and one hundred good labourers better than a thousand such Gallants as were sent me, that would doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire, when they saw our miseries and all things so clean contrary to the report in *England*; yet must I provide as well for them as for my selfe. [**6**] [*pp.* 155, 472 487.]

CHAPTER II.

Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.

[1607-9] THis the Mariners and Saylers did ever all they could to conceale; who had alwayes good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses: never caring how long they stayed upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces; when wee lived upon a little corne and water, and not halfe enough of that, the most of which we had from amongst the Salvages. Now although there be Deere in the woods, Fish in the rivers, and Fowles in abundance in their seasons: yet the woods are so wide, the rivers so broad, and the beasts so wild, and wee so unskilfull to catch them, wee little troubled them nor they us.

The effect of flattery, the cause of misery.

For all this, our letters that still signified unto them the plaine truth, would not be beleeved, because they required such things as was most necessary: but their opinion was otherwayes, for they desired but to packe over so many as they could, saying necessity would make them get victuals for themselves, as for good labourers they were more usefull here in *England*.

But they found it otherwayes; the charge was all one to [*pp.* 487, 616.] send a workman as a roarer; whose clamors to appease, we had much adoe to get fish and corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came with more loyterers without victuals still to make us worse and worse, for the most of them would rather starve than worke: yet had it not beene [*pp.* 155, 472.] for some few that were Gentlemen, both by birth, industry, and discretion, we could not possibly have subsisted.

Take heed of factions bred in England.

Many did urge I might have forced them to it, having authority that extended so farre as death: but I say, having neither meat, drinke, lodging, pay, nor hope of any thing or preferment; and seeing the Merchants onely did what they listed with all they wrought for, I know not what punishment could be greater than that they indured;

which miseries caused us alwaies to be in factions: the[1609-30] most part striving [7] by any meanes to abandon the Country, and I with my party to prevent them and cause them stay. But indeed the cause of our factions was bred here in *England*, and grew to that maturity among themselves that spoyled all, as all the Kingdome and other Nations can too well testifie.

Yet in the yeare 1622. there were about seven or eight thousand *English*, as hath beene said [*see p.* 927], so well trained, secure, and well furnished, as they reported and conceited. These simple Salvages, their bosome friends, I so much oppressed, had laid their plot how to cut all their throats in a morning: and upon the 22. of March [1622], so innocently attempted it, they slew three hundred forty seven, set their houses on fire, slew their cattell, and brought them to that distraction and confusion [that] within lesse than a yeare, there were not many more than two thousand remaining. *The Massacre in Virginia*

The which losse to repaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke [*capital*] as is said: then they broke [*became bankrupt*], not making any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any; whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businesse to a few that lost not by it. So that his Majesty recalled their Commission [*June* 1624]: and [that] by more iust cause then they perswaded King *Iames* to call in ours [*in* 1609], which were the first beginners, without our knowledge or consent, disposing of us and all our indevours at their pleasures. *How the company dissolved.*

CHAPTER III.

A great comfort to new England, *it is no Iland: a strange plague.*

NOtwithstanding since they have beene left in a manner, as it were, to themselves, they have increased [*by Oct.* 1630] their numbers to foure or five thousand [*pp.* 885–7], and neere as *The abundance of victuals now in* Virginia.

[1606-3 many catell, with plenty of Goats: abundance of Swine Poultry and Corne, that as they report, they have sufficient and to spare, to entertaine three or foure hundred people, which is much better than to have many people more than provision.

Now having glutted the world with their too [8] much overabounding Tabacco: Reason, or necessity, or both, will cause them, I hope, [to] learne in time better to fortifie themselves, and make better use of the trials of their [*p.* 927.] grosse commodities that I have propounded, and at the first sent over: and were it not a lamentable dishonour so goodly a Countrey after so much cost, losse, and trouble, should now in this estate not bee regarded and supplied.

A great comfort for New England *by* Virginia. [*p.* 893.] And to those of *New-England* may it not be a great comfort to have so neare a neighbour of their owne Nation, that may furnish them with their spare cattell, swine, poultry, and other roots and fruits, much better than from *England*. But I feare the seed of envy, and the rust of covetousnesse doth grow too fast, for some would have all men advance *Virginia* to the ruine of *New-England*; and others the losse of *Virginia* to sustaine *New-England*, which God of his mercy forbid: for at first it was intended by that most memorable Judge Sir *Iohn Popham*, then Lord chiefe Justice of *England*, and the Lords of his Majesties Privy Councel, with divers others, that two Colonies should be planted, as now they be, for the better strengthening each other against all occurrences; the which to performe, shall ever be my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to increase and continue that mutuall love betwixt them for ever.

The differences betwixt the beginning of Virginia, *and them of* Salem. By this you may perceive somewhat, what unexpected inconveniences are incident to a plantation, especially in such a multitude of voluntary contributers, superfluity of officers, and unexperienced Commissioners. But it is not so, as yet, with those for *New-England*; for they will neither beleeve nor use such officers, in that they are overseers of their owne estates, and so well bred in labour and good husbandry as any in *England*: where as few as I say was sent me to *Virginia*, but those [that] were naught here and worse there.

"Now when these shall have laid the foundations, and

" provided meanes beforehand; they may entertain all the [1614-21]
" poore artificers and laborers in *England*, and their *A necessary consideration.*
" families which are burthensome to their Parishes and
" Countries [*counties*] where they live upon almes and
" benevolence for want of worke: which if they would
" but pay for their transportation, they should never be
" troubled with them more. For there is vast land enough New England *is no Iland but the maine continent.*
" for all the people in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*:
" and it seemes God hath provided this Country for our
" Nation, destroying the natives by the plague, it not
" touching one Englishman, though many traded and were
" conversant amongst them; for they had three plagues in
" three yeares successively neere two hundred miles along
" the Sea coast, that in some places there scarce remained
" five of a hundred, and as they report thus it began:

A fishing ship being cast away upon the coast, two of the men escaped on shore; one of them died, the other lived among the natives till he had learned their language; then he perswaded them to become Christians, shewing them a Testament, some parts thereof expounding so well as he could, but they so much derided him, that he told them hee feared his God would destroy them: whereat the King assembled all his people about a hill, himselfe with the Christian standing on the top, demanded if his God had so many people and able to kill all those?

He answered yes, and surely would, and bring in strangers to possesse their land: but so long they mocked him and his God, that not long after such a sicknesse came, that of five or six hundred about the *Massachusets* there remained but thirty, on whom their neighbours fell and slew twenty-eight: the two [*p.* 754] remaining fled the Country till the *English* came, then they returned and surrendered their Country and title to the *English*. *A strange plague among the Salvages.*

If this be not true in every particular, excuse me, I pray you, for I am not the Author: but it is most certaine there was an exceeding great plague amongst them; for where I have seene [*in* 1614] two or three hundred, within three yeares after [1617] remained scarce thirty [*pp.* 747, 754]. But what disease it was the Salvages knew not till the *English* told them; never having seene, nor heard of the like before. [**10**]

CHAPTER IV.

Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations, rare examples.

[1630] *By what right wee may possesse those Countries lawfully.*

MAny good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages.

Which poore curiosity will answer it selfe; for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient. And here in *Florida*, *Virginia*, *New-England*, and *Cannada*, is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure [*cultivate*], and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and culturate. And shall we here keepe such a coyle for land, and at such great rents and rates, when there is so much of the world uninhabited, and as much more in other places, and as good or rather better than any wee possesse, were it manured and used accordingly.

If this be not a reason sufficient to such tender consciences; for a copper knife and a few toyes, as beads and hatchets, they will sell you a whole Countrey [*district*]; and for a small matter, their houses and the ground they dwell upon; but those of the *Massachusets* have resigned theirs freely.

True reasons for those plantations. [*pp.*228,741.]

Now the reasons for plantations are many. *Adam* and *Eve* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity; but not without labour, trouble, and industry. Noah and his family began againe the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Country another, and so the world to that estate it is; but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters: had those worthy Fathers and their memorable offspring not beene more diligent for us now in those ages,

than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for after-livers: Had the seed of *Abraham*, our [**11**] Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe; than we, even we our selves had at this present beene as Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized. [1630]

The *Hebrewes*, *Lacedemonians*, the *Goths*, *Grecians*, *Romans*, and the rest; what was it they would not undertake to inlarge their Territories, inrich their subjects, and resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no silvered idle golden Pharisees, but industrious honest hearted Publicans; they regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, than jewels, ease and delight for themselves; riches was their servants, not their masters; they ruled as fathers, not as tyrants; their people as children, not as slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances: and what hath ever beene the worke of the best great Princes of the world, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civility and humanity; whose eternall actions fils our histories with more honour than those that have wasted and consumed them by warres.

Rare examples of the Spaniards, Portugals, *and the Ancients.*

Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* that first began plantations in this unknowne world of *America* till within this 140. yeares [1476–1616], whose everlasting actions before our eyes, will testifie our idlenesse and ingratitude to all posterity, and neglect of our duty and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrey, and want of charity to those poore Salvages, whose Countries we challenge, use, and possesse: except wee be but made to marre what our forefathers made; or but only tell what they did; or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines where there is so much reason, liberty, and action offers it selfe. Having as much power and meanes as others, why should English men despaire, and not doe so much as any? Was it vertue in those Hero[e]s to provide that [which] doth maintaine us, and basenesse in us to doe the like for others to come? Surely no; then seeing wee are not borne for ourselves

[1614] but each to helpe other; and our abilities are much alike at
[*pp.* 229, 742.] the [12] howre of our birth and minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or bad, by faith in Christs merits, is all wee have to carry our soules to heaven or hell: Seeing honour is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignitie and glory of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors; or at least not hinder, if not further, them that would and doe their utmost and best endevour.

CHAPTER V.

My first voyage to new England, *my returne and profit.*

My first voyage to Norumbega *now called* New-England. 1614.

TO begin with the originals of the voyages to those coasts, I referre you to my generall history [*pp.* 696–7]; for *New England* by the most of them was esteemed a most barren rocky desart.

Notwithstanding at the sole charges of four Marchants
[*pp.* 187, 240, 256, 697, 891.] of London and my selfe, 1614. within eight weekes sayling I arrived at *Monahigan*, an Ile in *America* in 43. degrees 39. minutes of Northerly latitude.

Had the fishing for Whale proved as we expected, I had stayed in the Country: but we found the plots [*charts*] wee had, so false; and the seasons for fishing and trade by the unskilfulnesse of our Pylot so much mistaken; I was contented, having taken by hookes and lines, with fifteene or eighteene men at most, more than 60000 Cod in lesse than a moneth: whilst my selfe and eight others of them [that] might best be spared, by an houre glasse of three moneths, ranging the coast in a small boat, got for trifles eleven hundred Bever skins besides Otters and Martins
We got 1500. *pound in six months.* [skins]; all amounting to the value of fifteene hundred pound, and arrived in *England* with all my men in health, in six or seven months.

But Northward the *French* returned this yeare [1614] to *France* five and twenty thousand bevers [skins] and good furres; whilest we were contending about Patents and Commissions, with such fearefull incredulity that more dazeled our eyes than opened them. [1614-16] 25,000 *Bevers sent to* France.

In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called [**13**] it *New-England:* but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the eccho of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday*, and *Penaquid*; till, at my humble su[i]te, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Princes of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did change [*p.* 232] the barbarous names of their principal Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their Godfather: and in my opinion it should seeme an unmannerly presumption in any that doth alter them without his leave. [*pp.* 188, 699.]

My second voyage was to beginne a Plantation, and to doe what else I could, but by extreme tempests that tore neare all my Masts by the boord, being more than two hundred leagues at Sea, [I] was forced to returne to *Plimoth* with a Jury-Mast. *My second and third voyage[s].* 1615. [*pp.* 220–222; 731–736.]

The third was intercepted by English and French Pyrats, by my trecherous company that betrayed me to them; who ran away with my Ship and all that I had: such enemies the Sailers were to a Plantation, and the greatest losse being mine, [they] did easily excuse themselves to the Merchants in *England*, that still provided to follow the fishing. 1616.

Much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings to ingrosse it, who now would adventure thousands, that when I went first would not adventure a groat; yet there went foure or five good Ships: but what by their dissention, and the Turkes men of warre that tooke the best of them in the Straits, they scarce saved themselves this yeare.

At my returne from France [*Dec.* 1615], I did my best to have united them; but that had beene more than a worke for *Hercules*, so violent is the folly of greedy covetousnesse. [*pp.* 227, 740.]

CHAPTER VI.

A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Landmarks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.

[1614] [*pp.* 192, 706.] *A description of the Country.*

THis Country wee now speake of, lyeth betwixt 41. and 44½, the very meane for heat and cold betwixt the Equinoctiall and the North Pole, in which I have sounded about five and twenty very good Harbors; in many [**14**] whereof is Anc[h]orage for fiue hundred good ships of any burden, in some of them for a thousand: and more than three hundred Iles overgrowne with good timber, or divers sorts of other woods; in most of them (in their seasons) plenty of wilde fruits, Fish, and Fowle, and pure springs of most excellent water pleasantly distilling from their rockie foundations.

The principal habitations I was at North-ward, was *Pennobscot*, who are in warres with the *Terentines*, their next Northerly neighbours.

Southerly up the Rivers, and along the Coast, wee found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Sagadahock*, *Satquin*, *Aumughcawgen*, and *Kenabeca:* to those belong the Countries and people of *Segotago*, *Pauhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Wabigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigwick*, *Moshoquen*, *Waccogo*, *Pasharanack*, *&c.* To these are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticus*, *Passataquak*, *Augawoam* and *Naemkeck*. All these for any thing I could perceive differ little in language or any thing, though most of them be *Sagamos*, and Lords of themselves; yet they hold the Bashabes of *Pennobscot* the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

[*pp.* 192, 707.] The next is *Mattahunt*, *Totunt*, *Massachuset*, *Paconekick*, then *Cape Cod*, by which is *Pawmet*, the Iles of *Nawset* and *Capawuck*: neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues; and [are] very dangerous betwixt the degrees of 40. and 41.

Now beyond *Cape Cod*, the land extendeth it selfe

Southward to *Virginia*, *Florida*, the *West Indies*, the *Amazons* and *Brasele*, to the straits of *Magelanus*, two and fifty degrees Southward beyond the Line; all those great Countries, differing as they are in distance North or South from the Equinoctiall, in temper, heat, cold, Woods, Fruits, Fishes, Beasts, Birds, the increase and decrease of the night and day, to six moneths day and six moneths night. Some say, many of those Nations are so brute [*brutish*] they have no Religion, wherein surely they may be deceived; for my part I never saw nor heard of any Nation in the world which had not Religion, Deare, [**15**] Bowes, and Arrowes. [1614-16]

Vnder the Equinoctiall, twelve houres day, and twelve night.

Those in *New-England*, I take it, beleeve much alike as those in *Virginia*, of many divine Powers, yet of one above the rest; as the Southerly *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa*, and that we now inhabit *Okee*: but all their Kings *Werowances*. The *Massachusets* call their great God *Kichian*, and their Kings *Sachemes*; and that we suppose their Devill, they call *Habamouk*. The *Pennobscots*, their God, *Tantum*; their Kings, *Sagamos*. About those Countries are abundance of severall Nations and languages, but much alike in their simple curiosities, living and workemanship, except the wilde estate of their chiefe Kings, &c.

Their Religion.

[*pp.* 75, 321, 767.]

Of whose particular miserable magnificence (yet most happy in this, that they neuer trouble themselues with such variety of Apparell, Drinkes, Viands, Sawses, Perfumes, Perservatives, and niceties as we; yet live as long, and much more healthfull and hardy): also the deities of their chiefest Gods, Priests, Conjurers, Religion, Temples, Triumphs, Physicke, and Chirurgerie; their births, educations, duty of their women, exercise for their men; how they make all their Instruments and Engines to cut downe Trees, make their Cloaths, Boats, Lines, Nets, Fish-hooks, We[i]res, and Traps, Mats, Houses, Pots, Platters, Morters, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Swords, Clubs, Jewels, and Hatchets. Their severall sorts of Woods, Serpents, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Roots, Berries, Fruits, Stones, and Clay. Their best trade, what is most fit to trade with them. With the particulars of the charge of a fishing voyage, and all the necessaries belonging to it, their best countries to vent it for their best returnes; also the particulars for every private man or family that goeth

[*p.* 721.]

[1616-17] to plant, and the best seasons to goe or returne thence; with the particular description of the Salvages, Habitations, Harbours, and Land-markes, their Latitude, Longitude, or severall distance, with their old names and the new by the Map augmented. Lastly, the power of their Kings, obedience of their subjects, Lawes, executions, planting their Fields, Huntings, Fishings, the manner of their warres and treacheries yet knowne; and in generall, their lives and conversation, and how to bridle their brute, [*pp.* 695, 767.] barbarous, [**16**] and salvage dispositions: of all these particulars you may reade at large in the general History of *Virginia*, *New-England*, and the *Summer Iles*, with many more such strange actions and accidents that to an ordinary capacity might rather seeme miracles than wonders possibly to bee effected; which though they are but wound up as bottoms of fine silke, which with a good needle might be flourished into a far larger worke, yet the Images of great things are best discerned, contracted into smaller glasses.

CHAPTER VII.

New Englands *yearely trials, the planting of New* Plimoth, *suprisals prevented, their wonderful industry and fishing.*

1617. *Eight ships to fish.*

FOr all those differences there went eight tall ships before I arrived [*in Dec.* 1615] in *England*, from *France*, so that I spent that yeare [1617] in the West Country, to perswade the Cities, [*pp.* 241, 257, 745.] Townes, and Gentrie for a Plantation; which the Merchants very little liked, because they would have the coast free only for themselves, and the Gentlemen were doubtfull of their true accounts.

Oft and much it was so disputed, that at last they promised me the next yeere [1618] twenty saile well furnished, made me Admirall of the Country for my life under their hands

and the Colonels [*Colony's*] Seale for *New-England*; and in renewing their Letters Patents, to be a Patentee for my paines; yet nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected, for all this aire. [1617-22]

In those yeares many Ships made exceeding good voyages, some in six moneths, others in five: but one of two hundred tunne in six weekes, with eight and thirty men and boyes had her fraught, which shee sold at the first penny for one and twenty hundred pounds, besides her Furres. Six or seven more went out of the West, and some Sailers that had but a single share, had twenty pounds [=£80 *now*] and at home againe in seven moneths; which was more than such a one should have got in twenty moneths, had he gone for wages any where: yet for all this, in all this time, though I had divulged to my great labour, [**17**] cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in *London*, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels; so fresh were the living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Iles in their memories. 1618. 1619. 1620. *Eight and thirty men in six weeks tooke two thousand one hundred pounds worth of fish.* [*pp.* 242, 256, 743.]

At last, upon those inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are termed, with some Gentlemen and Merchants of *Layden* and *Amsterdam*, to save charges [*i.e.*, *the expense of employing Captain Smith* (*pp.* 892, 943)], would try their owne conclusions, though with great losse and much miserie till time had taught them to see their owne error; for such humorists [*fanatics*] will never beleeve well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod. [*pp.* 243, 267, 771.]

They were supplied [*reinforced*] with a small Ship with seven and thirty passengers, who found all them [that] were left after they were seated, well all but six that died, for all their poverties: in this ship they returned, the value of five hundred pounds [=£2,000 *now*], which was taken by a French-man upon the coast of *England*. 1621. [*pp.* 260–1]

There is gone from the West to fish five and thirty saile; two from *London* with sixty passengers for them at *New-Plimoth*: and all made good voyages. 1622. *Seven and thirty sail to fish.*

Now you are to understand, the seven and thirty passengers miscarrying twice upon the coast of *England*, came so ill provided, they onely relyed upon that poore [*pp.* 261, 761.]

[1622-3] company they found [*i.e., the Pilgrim Fathers*], that had lived two yeares by their naked [*simple*] industry, and what the Country naturally afforded. It is true, at first, there hath beene taken a thousand Bayses [*bass*] at a draught, and more than twelve hogsheads of Herrings in a night; of other fish when and what they would, when they had meanes; but wanting most necessaries for fishing and fowling, it is a wonder how they could subsist, fortifie themselves, resist their enemies, and plant their plants.

In Iuly [1622], a many of stragling forlorne Englishmen, whose wants they releeved, though [they] wanted themselves; the which to requite [them], destroyed their Corne and Fruits, and would have done the like to them, and have surprised what they had. The salvages also intended the like, but wisely they slew the salvage [**18**] Captaines; and revenged those injuries upon the fugitive English, that would have done the like to them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Extremity next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate; they make good salt, an unknowne rich myne.

1623. AT *New-Plimoth*, having planted the[i]re Fields and Gardens, such an extraordinary drought insued, all things withered, that they expected no harvest; and having long expected a supply, they heard no newes, but [of] a wracke split upon their Coast, they supposed their Ship: thus in the very labyrinth of despaire, they solemnly assembled themselves together nine houres in prayer. At their departure, the parching faire skies [were] all overcast with blacke clouds; and the next morning, such a pleasant moderate raine continued fourteene daies, that it was hard to say, whether their withered fruits or drooping affections were most revived.

Not long after came two Ships to supply [*reinforce*] them, with all their Passengers well, except one, and he presently recovered: for themselves, for all their wants, there

was not one sicke person amongst them. The greater Ship they returned fraught with commodities. **[1623-4]**

This yeare went from *England*, onely to fish, five and forty saile, and have all made a better voyage than euer. *Five and forty saile to fish.*

In this Plantation there is about an hundred and foure-score persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds [=£2,000 or £2,400 *now*] in other goods; impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lo[a]me, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted: and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares [1621–1624]: yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth*, for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in [**19**] wandring up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks [*creeks*] and swamps, forty of them died; and threescore were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth* where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed: whose misery and variable opinions for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them. **1624.** [*p.* 782.] [*pp.* 260, 941.]

These disasters, losses, and uncertain ties, made such disagreement among the Adventurers in *England*, who beganne to repent, and [would] rather lose all than longer continue the charge, being out of purse six or seven thousand pounds; accounting my bookes and their relations as old Almanacks. [*pp.* 892, 910 941.]

But the Planters, rather than leave the Country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves, and to all their adventurers [to] pay them for nine years two hundred pounds yearely without any other account: where more than six hundred Adventurers for *Virginia*, for more than two hundred thousand pounds, had not six pence.

Since they have made a salt worke, wherewith they preserve all the fish they take; and have fraughted this yeare a ship of an hundred and foure score tun: living so *They make store of good salt.*

[1614-30] well they desire nothing but more company; and what ever they take, [they] returne commodities to the value.

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying [that] I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene; and some, the same yeare, returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleeving me, and excuse their owne misprisions: some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it.

Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences: for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods Name bee there praised by my Countrymen, I have my desire: and the benefit of this salt and fish, for breeding Mariners and building [**20**] ships, will make so many fit men to raise a Common-wealth, if but managed, as my general history will shew you, it might well by this have beene as profitable as the best Mine the King of *Spaine* hath in his West Indies.

An incredible rich mine.

CHAPTER IX.

Notes worth observation: miserableness no good husbandry.

Notes worthy observation.

NOw if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers: [you] cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercy both to them and me.

Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions that the wiser sort often gave mee [up] for lost, alwayes in mutinies [*i.e., of others*] wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder; A long time [a] prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift all such a stormy winter night, when their ships were split, more than a hundred thousand pound [= £400,000 *now*] lost [which] they had taken at sea, and most of them drowned upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths [have] lived in the fields: yet to have lived neere 37. yeares [1593–1630] in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine, by which many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them [that] went first with me to *Virginia*: and [yet to] see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God thankes, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me, [**21**] to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner. [1593–1630]

Had my designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, as I know many have done that knew no such matter; though few doe conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it: or some new invention to passe to the South sea: or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Charaques [*carracks*]: or letters of mart [*marque*] to rob some poore Merchant or honest fisher men: what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first imployed. But in those noble indevours now, how few, unlesse it bee to begge them as Monopolies, and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods. as the 217. the 218. and the 219. pages in the generall history [*see* [*pp.* 722–728] will shew. But only those noble Gentlemen *Goods ill-gotten ill spent.* [*pp.* 893–4].

[1620–8] and their associates, for whose better incouragements I have recollected those [? *these*] experienced memorandums, as an Apologie against all calumniating detracters, as well for my selfe as them.

Miserablenesse no good husbandry. [*pp.* 243, 267, 771, 892, 910, 941, 943.]

Now since them called Brownists went (some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired); many other directers they had as wise as themselves, but that was best, that liked their owne conceits: for indeed they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority; because they could not be equals, they would have no superiors. In this fooles Paradise, they so long used that good husbandry, they have payed soundly in trying their owne follies: who undertaking in small handfuls to make many plantations, and to bee severall Lords and Kings of themselves, most vanished to nothing; to the great disparagement of the generall businesse, therefore let them take heed that doe follow their example. [**22**]

CHAPTER X.

The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, incouragements for servants.

1625. 1626. 1627. 1628.

WHo would not thinke that all those certainties should not have made both me and this Countrey have prospered well by this? but it fell out otherwayes. For by the instigation of some, whose policy had long watched their op[p]ortunity by the assurance of those profitable returnes, procured new Letters Patents from King *Iames*; drawing in many Noblemen and others to the number of twenty, for Patentees; dividing my map and that tract of land from the North

Sea to the South Sea, East and West, which is supposed by most Cosmographers [to be] at least more than two thousand miles; and from 41. degrees to 48. of Northerly latitude about 560 miles; the bounds *Virginia* to the South, and South Sea [*Pacific Ocean*] to the West, *Canada* to the North, and the maine Ocean to the East; all this they divided into twenty parts, for which they cast lots: but no lot for me but *Smiths* Iles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars. [1628-30] *The effect of the last great Patent.*

Those Patentees procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping; neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast over boord, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Manor; some of which for some of them I beleeve will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare. Thus whereas this Country, as the contrivers of those projects, should have planted it selfe of it selfe; especially all the chiefe parts along the coast the first year, as they have oft told me: and chiefly by the fishing ships and some small helpe of their owne, thinking men would be glad upon any termes to be admitted under their protections: but it proved so contrary, none would [**23**] goe at all. So, for feare to make a contempt against the Proclamation, it hath ever since beene little frequented to any purpose: nor would they doe anything, but left it to it selfe. *A Proclamation for New England.*

Thus it lay againe in a manner vast [*waste*], till those noble Gentlemen [*J. Winthrop, &c.*] thus voluntarily undertooke it, whom I intreat to take this as a memorandum of my love, to make your plantations so neere and great as you can; for many hands make light worke, whereas yet your small parties can doe nothing availeable; nor stand too much upon the letting, setting, or selling those wild Countries, nor impose too much upon the commonalty either by your maggazines [*victualling ships or stores, see pp.* 665, 676–7] which commonly eat out all poore mens labours; nor any other too hard imposition for present gaine; but let every man so it bee by order allotted him, *Memorandums for Masters.*

[1629-30] plant freely without limitation so much as hee can, bee it by the halfes or otherwayes. And at the end of five or six yeares, or when you make a division, for every acre he hath planted, let him have twenty, thirty, forty, or an hundred; or as you finde hee hath extraordinarily deserved, by it selfe to him and his heires for ever; all his charges being defrayed to his lord or master, and publike good.

Incouragements for servants. In so doing, a servant that will labour, within foure or five yeares may live as well there as his master did here: for where there is so much land lie waste, it were a madnesse in a man at the first to buy, or hire, or pay any thing more than an acknowledgement to whom it shall be due; and hee is double mad that will leave his friends, meanes, and freedome in *England*, to be worse there than here.

Therefore let all men have as much freedome in reason as may be, and true dealing; for it is the greatest comfort you can give them, where the very name of servitude will breed much ill bloud, and become odious to God and man: but mildly temper correction with mercy, for I know well you will have occasion enough to use both; and in thus doing, doubtlesse God will blesse you, and quickly triple and multiply your numbers; the which to my utmost I will doe my best indevour. [**24**]

CHAPTER XI.

The planting [*of*] Bastable *or* Salem *and* Charlton, *a description of the* Massachusets.

1629. *The planting* [*of*] *Salem.* IN all those plantations, yea, of those that have done least, yet the most will say, we were the first; and so every next supply, still the next beginner: But seeing history is the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happinesse of the living; because I have more plainly discovered, and described, and discoursed of those Countries than any as yet I know, I am the bolder to continue the story, and

doe all men right so neere as I can in those new beginnings, which hereafter perhaps may bee in better request than a forest of nine dayes pamphlets. [1629]

Their provisions for Salem.

In the yeare 1629. about March, six good ships are gone with 350. men, women, and children; people professing themselves of good ranke, zeale, meanes and quality: also 150. head of cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beasts; 41. goats, some conies, with all provision for houshold and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Drums and Colours, with all provisions necessary for the good of man.

They are seated about 42. degrees and 38. minutes, at a place called by the natives *Naemkecke*, by our Royall King *Charles*, *Bastable*; but now by the planters, *Salem*: where they arrived for most part exceeding well, their cattell and all things else prospering exceedingly, farre beyond their expectation.

The planting Salem and Charlton.

At this place they found some reasonable good provision and houses built by some few of *Dorchester*, with whom they are joyned in society with two hundred men.

An hundred and fifty more they have sent to the *Massachusets*, which they call *Charlton*, or *Charles* Towne.

A description of the Massachusets Bay.

I tooke the fairest reach in this Bay for a river, whereupon I called it *Charles* river, after the name of our Royall King *Charles*; but they find that faire Channell to divide it selfe into so many faire branches as make forty or fifty pleasant Ilands within that excellent Bay, [**25**] where the land is of divers and sundry sorts, in some places very blacke and fat, in others good clay, sand and gravell, the superficies neither too flat in plaines, nor too high in hils. In the Iles you may keepe your hogs, horse, cattell, conies or poultry, and secure for little or nothing, and to command when you list; onely having a care of provision for some extraordinary cold winter. In those Iles, as in the maine, you may make your nurseries for fruits and plants where you put no cattell; in the maine [*Mainland*] you may shape your Orchards, Vineyards, Pastures, Gardens, Walkes, Parkes, and Corne fields out of the whole peece as you please into such plots, one adjoining to another, leaving every of

[1629-30] them invironed with two, three, foure, or six, or so many rowes of well growne trees as you will, ready growne to your hands, to defend them from ill weather, which in a champion you could not in many ages; and this at first you may doe with as much facility, as carelesly or ignorantly cut downe all before you, and then after better consideration make ditches, pales, plant young trees with an excessive charge and labour, seeing you may have so many great and small growing trees for your maineposts, to fix hedges, palisados, houses, rales, or what you will. Which order in *Virginia* hath not beene so well observed as it might: where all the woods for many an hundred mile for the most part grow sleight, like unto the high grove or tuft of trees upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir *Humphrey Mildmay*, so remarkable in *Essex* in the Parish of *Danbery*, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater; neither grow they so thicke together by the halfe, and much good ground betweene them without shrubs, and the best is ever knowne by the greatnesse of the trees and the vesture it beareth.

Now in *New-England* the trees are commonly lower, but much thicker and firmer wood, and more proper for shipping, of which I will speake a little, [it] being the chiefe engine wee are to use in this worke; and the rather for that within a [*pp.* 193,708.] square of twenty leagues, you may have all, or most of the chiefe materials belonging to them, were they wrought to their perfection as in other places. [**26**]

The masterpeece of workmanship. Of all fabricks a ship is the most excellent, requiring more art in building, rigging, sayling, trimming, defending, and moaring, with such a number of severall termes and names in continuall motion, not understood of any landman, as none would thinke of, but some few that know them; for whose better instruction I writ my Sea-Grammar [*pp.* 785–804]: a booke most necessary for those plantations, because there is scarce any thing belonging to a ship, but the Sea-termes, charge and duty of every officer is plainly expressed, and also any indifferent capacity may conceive how to direct an unskilfull Carpenter, or Sailer to build Boats and Barkes sufficient to saile those coasts and rivers, and put a good workman in minde of many things in this businesse hee may easily mistake or forget.

But to be excellent in this faculty is the master-peece of all most necessary workmen in the world. The first rule or modell thereof being directed by God himselfe to *Noah* for his Arke; which he never did to any other building but his Temple: which is tossed and turned up and downe the world with the like dangers, miseries, and extremities as a ship, sometimes tasting the fury of the foure Elements, as well as shee, by unlimited tyrants in their cruelty for tortures, that it is hard to conceive whether those inhumanes exceed the beasts of the Forrest, the birds of the Aire, the fishes of the Sea, either in numbers, greatnesse, swiftnesse, fiercenesse, or cruelty: whose actions and varieties, with such memorable observations as I have collected, you shall finde with admiration in my history of the Sea, if God be pleased I live to finish it. [1629]

CHAPTER XII.

Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods for any thing, their healths.

FOr the building [of] houses, townes, and fortresses, where shall a man finde the like conveniency, as stones of most sorts, as well lime stone, if I be not much deceived, as Iron stone, smooth stone, blew slate for covering houses, and great rockes we supposed Marble, so that one place is called [**27**] the marble harbour. *Extraordinary meanes for buildings.* [*pp.* 193, 707.]

There is grasse plenty, though very long and thicke stalked, which being neither mowne nor eaten, is very ranke; yet all their cattell like and prosper well therewith: but indeed it is weeds, herbs, and grasse growing together, which although they be good and sweet in the Summer, they will deceive your cattell in winter. Therefore be carefull in the Spring to mow the swamps, and the low Ilands of *Auguan*, where you may have harsh *Caveats for cattell.*

[1629] sheare-grasse enough to make hay of, till you can cleare ground to make pasture; which will beare as good grasse as can grow any where, as now it doth in *Virginia*: and unlesse you make this provision, if there come an extraordinary winter, you will lose many of them and hazard the rest; especially if you bring them in the latter end of Summer, or before the grasse bee growne in the Spring, comming weake from Sea.

All things they plant prosper exceedingly: but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase.

How to spoyle the woods for pasture and corne.

The best way wee found in *Virginia* to spoile the woods, was first to cut a notch in the barke a hand broad round about the tree, which pill off and the tree will sprout no more, and all the small boughs in a yeare or two will decay: the greatest branches in the root they spoyle with fire, but you with more ease may cut them from the body and they will quickly rot.

Betwixt those trees they plant their corne, whose great bodies doe much defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne; where that in the plaines, where the trees by time they have consumed, is subject to both: and this is the most easie way to have pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other.

In *Virginia* they never manure their overworne fields, which is very few, the ground for most part is so fertile: but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne, a herring or two; which commeth in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with.

A silly complaint of cold, the reason and remedy.

Some infirmed bodies, or tender educats, complaine of the piercing cold, especially in January and February; yet the [**28**] *French* in *Canada*, the *Russians*, *Swethlanders*, *Polanders*, *Germans*, and our neighbour *Hollanders*, are much colder and farre more Northward; [and] for all that, rich Countreyes and live well. Now they have wood enough if they will but cut it, at their doores to make fires; and traine oyle with the splinters of the roots of firre trees for candles: where[as] in *Holland* they have little or none to

build ships, houses, or anything but what they fetch from forren Countries, yet they dwell but in the latitude of Yorkshire; and *New-England* is in the heighth of the North cape of *Spaine*, which is 10. degrees, 200. leagues, or 600. miles nearer the Sunne than wee, where upon the mountaines of *Bisky* I have felt [*in* 1604, *p.* 869] as much cold, frost, and snow as in *England*. And of this I am sure, a good part of the best Countries and kingdomes of the world, both Northward and Southward of the line, lie in the same paralels of *Virginia* and *New-England*, as at large you may finde in the 210. page of the generall history [*p.* 710]. [1629-30] [*p.* 196.]

Provisoes for passengers and saylers at sea.

Thus you may see how prosperously thus farre they have proceeded, in which course by Gods grace they may continue; but great care would be had they pester not their ships too much with cattell nor passengers, and to make good conditions for your peoples diet, for therein is used much legerdemaine: therefore in that you cannot be too carefull to keepe your men well, and in health at Sea. In this case some masters are very provident, but the most part so they can get fraught enough, care not much whether the passengers live or die; for a common sailer regards not a landman, especially a poore passenger; as I have seene too oft approved by lamentable experience, although we have victualled them all at our owne charges.

CHAPTER XIII.

Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage.

WHo would not thinke but that all those trials had beene sufficient to lay a foundation for a plantation; but we see many men many mindes, and still new Lords, new lawes: for those 350 men with all their cattell [29] that so well arived and promised so much, not being of one body, but severall mens servants, few could command and fewer obey, lived 1630.

Their present estate.

[1630] merrily of that they had, neither planting or building any thing to any purpose, but one faire house for the Governour, till all was spent and the winter approached; then they grew into many diseases, and as many inconveniences, depending only of a supply from *England*, which expected Houses, Gardens, and Corne fields ready planted by them for their entertainment.

It is true, that Master *Iohn Wynthrop*, their now Governour, a worthy Gentleman both in estate and esteeme, went so well provided (for six or seven hundred people went with him) as could be devised; but at Sea, such an extraordinarie storme encountred his Fleet, continuing ten daies, that of two hundred Cattell which were so tossed and bru[i]sed, threescore and ten died, many of their people fell sicke, and in this perplexed estate, after ten weekes, they arrived [*in June–July* 1630] in *New-England* at severall times: where they found threescore of their people dead, the rest sicke, nothing done; but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to shew it selfe.

And to second this, neare as many more came after them, but so ill provided, with such multitudes of women and children, as redoubled their necessities.

The fruits of counterfeits. This small triall of their patience caused among them no small confusion, and put the Governour and his Councell to their utmost wits. Some could not endure the name of a Bishop, others not the sight of a Crosse nor Surplesse, others by no meanes the booke of common Prayer. This absolute crue, only of the Elect, holding all (but such as themselves) reprobates and cast-awaies, now make more haste to returne to *Babel* as they tearmed *England*, than stay to enjoy the land they called *Canaan*: somewhat they must say to excuse themselves.

Those he found Brownists, hee let goe for *New-Plimoth*; who are now betwixt foure or five hundred, and live well without want.

Some two hundred of the rest he was content to returne for *England*, whose clamors are as variable as their [**30**] humours and Auditors. Some say they could see no timber of two feet diameter, some the Country is all Woods; others they drunke all the Springs and

Ponds dry, yet like to famish for want of fresh water; [1630]
some of the danger of the rattell Snake; and that others sold their provisions at what rates they pleased to them that wanted, and so returned to *England* great gainers out of others miseries: yet all that returned are not of those humors.

Notwithstanding all this, the noble Governour was no way disanimated, neither repents him of his enterprise for all those mistakes: but did order all things with that temperance and discretion, and so releeved those that wanted with his owne provision, that there is six or seven hundred remained with him; and more than 1600. English in all the Country, with three or foure hundred head of Cattell.

As for Corne they are very ignorant, if upon the coast *of America*, they doe not before the end of this October [1630. *This fixes the date of the writing of these* Advertisements] (for toies) furnish themselves with two or three thousand bushels of Indian Corne, which is better than ours; and in a short time cause the Salvages to doe them as good service as their owne men, as I did in *Virginia*; and yet neither use cruelty nor tyranny amongst them: a consequence well worth putting in practice; and till it be effected, they will hardly doe well.

I know ignorance will say it is impossible, but this impossible taske, ever since the massacre in *Virginia* [22 *Mar.* 1622], I have been a su[i]ter to have undertaken but with 150. men, to have got Corne, fortified the Country, and discovered them more land than they all yet know or have demonstrated [*p.* 588]: but the Merchants common answer was, necessity in time would force the Planters [to] doe it [*p.* 590.] themselves; and rather thus husbandly to lose ten sheepe, than be at the charge of a halfe penny worth of Tarre.

Who is it that knowes not what a small handfull of *Note well.* Spaniards in the West Indies, subdued millions of the inhabitants, so depopulating those Countries they conquered, that they are glad to buy *Negroes* in *Affrica* at a great rate, in Countries farre remote from them; which although they bee as idle and as devilish people as any in the world, yet they cause them quickly to bee their best servants. Notwithstanding, [**31**] there is for every foure or five naturall Spaniards, two or three hundred Indians and

[1630] Negros; and in *Virginia* and *New-England* more English than Salvages that can assemble themselves to assault or hurt them, and it is much better to helpe to plant a country than unplant it and then replant it: but there Indians were in such multitudes, the Spaniards had no other remedy; and ours such a few, and so dispersed, it were nothing in a short time to bring them to labour and obedience.

It is strange to me, that English men should not doe as much as any; but upon every sleight affront, in stead to amend it, we make it worse. Notwithstanding the worst of all those rumours, the better sort there are constant in their resolutions, and so are the most of their best friends here; and making provision to supply them, many conceit they make a dearth here, which is nothing so; for they would spend more here than they transport thither.

One Ship this Summer [1630] with twenty cattell, and forty or fifty passengers, arived all well; and the Ship at home againe in nine weekes: another for all this exclamation of want, is returned with 10000. Corfish, and fourescore Kegs of Sturgion; which they did take and save when the season was neare past, and in the very heat of Summer; yet as good as can be.

Since another ship is gone from *Bristow*, and many more a providing to follow them with all speed.

Thus you may plainly see for all these rumours, they are in no such distresse as is supposed: as for their mischances, misprisions, or what accidents may befall them, I hope none is so malicious, as attribute the fault to the Country nor mee: yet if some blame us not both, it were more than a wonder. For I am not ignorant that ignorance and too curious spectators, make it a great part of their profession to censure (however) any mans actions, who having lost the path to vertue, will make most excellent shifts to mount up any way; such incomparable connivency is in the Devils most punctuall cheaters, they will hazard a joint, but where God hath his Church they wil have a Chapel; a mischiefe so hard to be prevented, that I have thus plainly adventured to shew my affection, [**32**] through the weaknesse of my abilitie. You may easily know them by their absolutenesse in opinions, holding experience but

the mother of fooles, which indeed is the very ground of reason; and he that contemnes her in those actions, may finde occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdome hee hath to correct his owne folly, that thinkes to finde amongst those salvages such Churches, Palaces, Monuments, and Buildings as are in *England*. [1630]

CHAPTER XIV.

Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia, *authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at* Bastable *now called* Salem.

Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia.

NOw because I have spoke so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have beene demanded by so many, how we beganne to preach the Gospell in *Virginia*, and by what authority; what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers; therefore I thinke it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings.

When I went first to *Virginia*, I well remember wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walles were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees till we cut plankes, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. In foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent; for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls: the best of our houses [were] of the like curiosity; but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend [from] wind nor raine.

Yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the *p.* 5 2.]

[1630] holy Communion, till our Minister died: but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers [**33**] came: and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wildernesse.

[*pp.* 161–169, 478–485.]

Their estates at this day.

Notwithstanding, out of the relicks of our miseries, time and experience had brought that Country to a great happinesse; had they not so much doated on their Tabacco, on whose fumish foundation there is small stability: there being so many good commodities besides. Yet by it they have builded many pretty Villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are growne good Benefices of 120. pounds a yeare, besides their owne mundall industry. But *Iames* towne was 500. pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councell here, allowed by the Councell there, and confirmed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all *England*, *An.* 1605. to master *Richard Hacluit* Prebend of *Westminster*: who by his authority sent master *Robert Hunt*, an honest, religious, and couragious Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.

Their order of teaching in Salem.

Now in *New-England* they have all our examples to teach them how to beware, and choice [*choose*] men, wee [being] most ignorant in all things, or little better; therfore presage not the event of all such actions by our defailments: For they write, they doubt not ere long to be able to defend themselves against any indifferent enemy; in the interim, they have Preachers erected among themselves, and Gods true Religion (they say) taught amongst them, the Sabbath day observed, the common Prayer (as I understand) and Sermons performed, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and commendable good orders to bring those people with whom they have to deale withall into a Christian conversation, to live well, to feare God, serve the King, and love the Country; which done, in time from both those Plantations may grow a good addition to the Church of *England*: but *Rome* was not built in one

day, whose beginnings was once as unhopefull as theirs; and to make them as eminent shall be my humble and hearty prayers. [34] [1630]

The miserable effects of faction in Religion.

But as yet it is not well understood of any authority they have sought for the government and tranquillity of the Church, which doth cause those suspicions of factions in Religion; wherein although I be no Divine, yet I hope without offence I may speake my opinion as well in this, as I have done in the rest.

He that will but truly consider the greatnesse of the Turks Empire and power here in Christendome, shall finde the naturall Turkes are generally of one religion, and the Christians in so many divisions and opinions, that they are among themselves worse enemies than the Turkes: whose disjoyntednesse hath given him that opportunity to command so many hundred thousand of Christians as he doth; where had they beene constant to one God, one Christ, and one Church, Christians might have beene more able to have commanded as many Turkes, as now the Turkes doe poore miserable Christians. Let this example remember you to beware of faction in that nature: for my owne part, I have seene many of you here in *London* goe to Church as orderly as any.

The necessity of order and authority.

Therefore I doubt not but you will seeke to the prime authority of the Church of *England*, for such an orderly authority as in most mens opinions is fit for you both to intreat for and to have, which I thinke will not be denied; and you have good reason, seeing you have such liberty to transport so many of his Majesties subjects, with all sorts of cattell, armes, and provision as you please, and can provide means to accomplish: nor can you have any certaine releefe, nor long subsist, without more supplies from *England*. Besides, this might prevent many inconveniences may insue, and would clearely take away all those idle and malicious rumours, and occasion you many good and great friends and assistance you yet dreame no of; for you know better than I can tell, that the maintainers of good Orders and Lawes is the best preservation next God of a Kingdome: but when they are stuffed with hypocrisie and corruption, that state is not doubtfull but

[1630] lamentable in a well setled Common-wealth, much more in such as yours, which is but a beginning, for as the Lawes corrupt, the state consumes. [35]

CHAPTER XV.

The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations, and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene Elizabeths *Sea Captaines.*

The effect of a Cittadell, or the true modell of a Plantation.

IN regard of all that is past, it is better of those slow proceedings than lose all, and better to amend late than never. I know how hatefull it is to envy, pride, flattery, and greatnesse to be advised, but I hope my true meaning wise men will excuse, for making my opinion plaine: I have beene so often and by so many honest men intreated for the rest, the more they mislike it, the better I like it my selfe.

Concerning this point of a Cittadell, it is not the least, though the last remembred: therefore seeing you have such good meanes and power of your owne I never had, with the best convenient speed may be erect a Fort, a Castle or Cittadell, which in a manner is all one. Towards the building, provision, and maintenance thereof, every man for every acre he doth culturate to pay foure pence yearely, and some small matter out of every hundred of

fish taken or used within five or ten miles, or as you please about it; it being the Center as a Fortresse for ever belonging to the State, and when the charge shall be defrayed to the chiefe undertaker (in reason) let him be Governour for his life: the overplus to goe forward to the erecting another in like manner in a most convenient place; and so one after another, as your abilities can accomplish, by benevolences, forfeitures, fines, and impositions, as reason and the necessitie of the common good requireth; all men holding their lands on those manners as they doe of Churches, Universities, and Hospitals, but all depending upon one principall, and this would avoid all faction among the Superiours, extremities from the comminalty, and none would repine at such payments, when they shall see it justly imployed for their owne defence and security. As for corruption in so small a Government; you may quickly perceive, and punish it accordingly. [**36**] [1630]

The conditions of trade and freedome

Now as his Majesty hath made you custome-free for seven yeares, have a care that all your Country men [that] shall come to trade with you, be not troubled with Pilatage, Boyage. Anc[h]orage, Wharfage, Custome, or any such tricks as hath beene lately used in most of new Plantations, where they would be Kings before their folly; to the discouragement of many, and a scorne to them of understanding: for Dutch, French, Biskin, or any will as yet use freely the Coast without controule, and why not English as well as they.

Therefore use all commers with that respect, courtesie, and liberty [that] is fitting; which in a short time will much increase your trade, and shipping to fetch it from you: for as yet it were not good to adventure any more abroad with factors till you bee better provided. Now there is nothing more inricheth a Common-wealth than much trade: nor no meanes better to increase than small custome, as *Holland*, *Genua*, *Ligorne*, and divers other those places can well tell you; and doth most beggar places where they take most custome, as *Turkie*, the *Archipelagan Iles*, *Cicilia*, the *Spanish ports*, but that their

[1630] officers will connive to inrich themselves, though undoe the State.

In this your infancy, imagine you have many eyes attending your actions, some for one end, and some onely to finde fault; neglect therefore no opportunity, to informe his Majesty truly your [of] orderly proceedings, which if it be to his liking, and contrary to the common rumour here in *England*, doubtlesse his Majesty will continue you custome free, till you have recovered your selves, and are able to subsist.

For till such time, to take any custome from a Plantation is not the way to make them prosper; nor is it likely those Patentees shall accomplish any thing, that will neither maintaine them nor defend them, but with Countenances, Councells, and advice, which any reasonable man there may better advise himselfe, than one thousand of them here who were never there: nor will any man, that hath any wit, throw himselfe into such a kinde of subjection, especially at his owne cost and charges; but it is too oft seene that sometimes one is enough to deceive one hundred, but two hundred not sufficient to keepe one from being deceived. [37]

The Spaniards glory.

I speak not this to discourage any with vaine feares, but could wish every English man to carry alwaies this Motto in his heart; Why should the brave Spanish Souldiers brag; The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King: who within these few hundred of yeares, was one of the least of most of his neighbours; but to animate us to doe the like for ours, who is no way his inferior.

And truly there is no pleasure comparable to [that of] a generous spirit; as good imploiment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens, and Infidels; to see daily new Countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems; [to] releeve the oppressed, comfort his friends, passe miseries, subdue enemies, adventure upon any feazable danger for God and his Country. It is true, it is a happy thing to be borne to strength, wealth, and honour; but that which is got by prowesse and magnanimity is the

truest lustre: and those can the best distinguish content, that have escaped most honourable dangers; as if, out of every extremity, he found himselfe now [? *new*] borne to a new life, to learne how to amend and maintaine his age. [1630]

Provisoes for exercise of Armes.

Those harsh conclusions have so oft plundered me in those perplexed actions, that if I could not freely expresse my selfe to them [who] doth second them, I should thinke my selfe guilty of a most damnable crime worse than ingratitude; however some over-weining capricious conceits may attribute it to vaine-glory, ambition, or what other idle Epithete such pleased to bestow on me. But such trash I so much scorne, that I presume further to advise those, lesse advised than my selfe, that as your fish and trade increaseth, so let your forts and exercise of armes; drilling your men at your most convenient times, to ranke, file, march, skirmish, and retire, in file, manaples, battalia, or ambuskados, which service there is most proper; also how to assault and defend your forts, and be not sparing of a little extraordinary shot and powder to make them mark-men, especially your Gentlemen, and those you finde most capable, for shot must be your best weapon: yet all this will not doe unlesse you have at least 100. or as many as you can, of expert, blouded, approved good Souldiers, who dare boldly lead them; not to shoot a ducke, a goose or a dead marke, but at men, from whom you must expect such as you send.

The want of [38] this, and the presumptuous assurance of literall Captaines, was the losse of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Florida*, each surprising other; and lately neare the ruine of *Mevis*, and Saint *Christophers* in the Indies [*pp.* 901, 910]: also the *French* at Port Riall [*p.* 517], and those at *Canada*, now your next English neighbours: Lastly, *Cape Britton* not far from you, called *New-Scotland*.

Questionlesse there were some good Souldiers among them, yet somewhat was the cause they were undone by those that watched the advantage of opportunity: for as rich preyes make true men theeves; so you must not expect, if you be once worth taking and unprovided, but by some to bee attempted in the like manner: to the

[1630] prevention whereof, I have not beene more willing, at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions su[i]ting my calling and profession to make good; and [to make] *Virginia* and *New-England*, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes.

A reference to the action of all our prime discoverers and planters.

Now because I cannot expresse halfe that which is necessary for your full satisfaction and instruction belonging to this businesse in this small pamphlet, I referre you to the generall history of *Virginia*, the Summer Iles, and *New-England*; wherein you may plainly see all the discoveries, plantations, accidents, the misprisions and causes of defailments of all those noble and worthy Captaines; Captaine *Philip Amadas*, and *Barlow*; that most [*pp.* 303-340. renowned Knight Sir *Richard Greenvile*, worthy Sir *Ralph Layne*, and learned Master *Hariot*, Captaine *Iohn White*, Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, Captaine *Martin Pring*, and *George Waymouth*; with mine owne observations by sea, rivers and land, and all the governours that yearely suc- [*pp.* 625-688.] ceeded mee in *Virginia*. Also those most industrious Captaines, Sir *George Summers*, and Sir *Thomas Gates*; with all the governours that succeeded them in the [*pp.* 696-7.] Summer Iles. Likewise the plantation of *Sagadahock*, by those noble Captaines, *George Popham*, *Rawley Gilbert*, *Edward Harlow*, *Robert Davis*, *Iames Davis*, *Iohn Davis*, and divers others; with the maps of those Countries.

With it [*or rather in* The true Travels &c.] also you [*pp.* 895-912.] may finde the plantations of Saint *Christophers*, *Mevis*, the *Berbados*, and the great river of the *Amazons*; whose greatest defects, and the best meanes to amend them are there yearely recorded, to be warnings and examples to them that are not too wise to learne to understand. [39]

What is requisite to be in a Governour of a plantation. [*pp.* 191, 705.]

This great worke, though small in conceit, is not a worke for every one to mannage such an affaire, as make a discovery, and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein best to be imployed,

and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misimploying men in their undertakings. *Columbus, Curtes, Pitzara, Zotto, Magellanus*, and the rest, served more than an apprentiship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies, which to the wonder of all ages, successfully they effected; when many hundreds farre above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, scorning to follow their blunt examples, but in great state, with new inventions, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their noblenesse, state, nor greatnesse; but to answer those questionlesse questions that keepe us from imitating the others brave spirits, that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, and their King to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest glory, power, and renowne. [1630]

The expeditions of Queene Elizabeths Sea-Captaines.

Till his greatnesse and security made his so rich remote and dispersed plantations such great booties and honours, to the incomparable Sir *Fr. Drake*, the renowned Captain *Candish*, Sir *Richard Luson*, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, Captaine *Carlile*, and Sir *Martin Furbisher*, &c. and the most memorable and right honourable Earles, *Cumberland, Essex, Southampton*, and *Nottingham* that good L[ord]. Admirall; with many hundreds of brave English Souldiers, Captaines and Gentlemen, that have taught the Hollanders to doe the like. Those would never stand upon a demurre who should give the first blow, when they see [*saw*] peace was onely but an empty name, and no sure league, but impuissance to doe hurt; found it better to buy peace by warre, than take it up at interest of those [that] could better guide penknives than use swords. And there is no misery worse than [to] be conducted by a foole, or commanded by a coward; for who can indure to be assaulted by any, see his men and selfe imbrued in their owne bloud, for feare of a checke, [**40**] when it is so contrary to nature and necessity, and yet as obedient to government and their Soveraigne, as duty required.

[1630] Now your best plea is to stand upon your guard, and provide to defend as they did offend, especially at landing. If you be forced to retire, you have the advantage five for one in your retreat, wherein there is more discipline, than in a brave charge: and though it seeme lesse in fortune, it is as much in valour to defend as to get; but it is more easie to defend than assault, especially in woods where an enemy is ignorant.

Lastly, remember as faction, pride, and security, produces nothing but confusion, miserie, and dissolution; so the contraries well practised will in short time make you happy, and the most admired people of all our plantations for your time in the world.

Iohn Smith writt this with his owne hand.



[*Captain John Smith's last Will, and Epitaph.*

1631.]

Captain *John Smith*'s last Will and Epitaph.

WE have printed the following from the original Will in the Will Office of the Prerogative Court at Somerset House, London. It is numbered *St. John* 89.

It would seem from the wording of this Will, as if our Author died in the house of Sir SAMUEL SALTONSTALL, in St. Sephulchre's parish.

THE WILL.

In the name of God Amen. The one and twentieth daie of June in the seaventh yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne lord *Charles* by the grace of God King of *England Scotland France* and *Ireland* Defendour of the faith &c.

I Captain *Iohn Smith* of the parish of St. *Sepulchers London* Esquiour, being sicke in body, but of perfect mynde and memory, thankes be given vnto Allmightie God therefore, Revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, Doe make and ordeine this my last will and testament in manner following. First I commend my soule into the handes of Allmightie God my maker hoping through the merites of *Christ Iesus* my Redeemer to receave full remission of all my sinnes, and to inherit a place in the euerlasting kingdome. My body I committ to the earth from whence it came, to be interred according to the discrecion of myne Executours hereunder named. And of suche worldly goodes whereof it hath pleased God in his mercie to make me an vnworthie Receaver, I giue and bequeath them as hereafter followeth.

First I give and bequeath vnto *Thomas Packer* Esquiour one of the Clerkes of His Maiesties Privy Seale, and to his heires for euer, all my houses landes tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoeuer scituate lyenge and being in the parishes of Lowthe and greate Carleton [*p.* xx] in the Countie of Lincolne together with my Coate of Armes. *Item* my Will and meaninge is, that in consideracion thereof the sayd *Thomas Packer* shall disburse and pay all such sommes of money and legacies as hereafter in this my Will are giuen bequeathed and reserued not exceeding the somme of fowerscore poundes of Lawfull mony of England, That is to saie: First I reserue vnto my self to be disposed as I shall thynke good in my life tyme, the somme of twentie pounds. *Item* he shall disburse about my funerall the somme of twentie poundes. *Item* I give and bequeath out of the residue of the fourscore poundes as followeth, viz^{t} I give and bequeath unto my much honored and most worthie friend Sir *Samuel Saltonstall* Knight the somme of fyve poundes. *Item* to Mistris *Tredway* the somme of fyve poundes. *Item* to my sister *Smith* the Widowe of my brother the some of tenn poundes. Item to my cousin *Steven Smith* and his sister the somme [of] six poundes thirteene shillinges and fower pence betweene them. *Item* to the said *Thomas Packer*, *Ioan* his wife and *Eleanour* his Daughter the somme of Tenne poundes among them. *Item* to Master *Reynoldes* the Saymaster [*Assay Master*] of the Gouldsmiths Hall, the somme of fortie shillinges. All which legacies my meaning and Will is shall be paid by the said *Thomas Packer* his heires executours or administratours within one yeare after my Decease.

Item, I give vnto *Thomas Packer*, sonne of the above sayd *Thomas Packer*, my trunck standing in my chamber at Sir *Samuell Saltonstalls* house in St *Sepulchers* parish, together with my best suite of aparrell, of a tawney color, viz^{t} hose doublet ierkin and cloake.

Item I give unto him my trunke bound with iron barres standing in the house of *Richard Hinde* in Lambeth, togeather with halfe the bookes therein, to be chosen by the said *Thomas Packer* and allowed by myne Executours; and the other halfe parte of the bookes I giue unto Master *Iohn Tredeskyn* [? *Tradescant*] and the said *Richard Hynde* to be divided betweene them.

Item, I nominate apointe and ordeine my said much honored friend Sir *Samuel Saltonstall* and the said *Thomas Packer* the elder, ioynt executours of this my last Will and testament.

the marke of the + sayd *Iohn Smithe.*

Read acknowledged, sealed and deliuered by the said Captain *Iohn Smith* to be his last Will and testament in the presence of us who have subscribed our names

per me Willelmum Keble Senior civitatis London,

William Packer

Elizabeth Sewster

Marmaduke Walker, + his marke.

Wytnes.

Probate issued to THOMAS PARKER *on* 1 *July*, 1631.

THE EPITAPH.

Two years after our Author's death, appeared MUNDAY and DYSON's enlarged edition of STOW's *Survey of London*, 1633; in which, at *p.* 779, will be found the following Epitaph:

This Table is on the South side
of the Quire in Saint *Sepulchers*,
with this Inscription.

To the living Memory of his deceased Friend, Captaine
IOHN SMITH, who departed this mortall
life on the 21. day of Iune, 1631.

With his Armes, and this Motto,

Accordamus. Vincere est vivere.

Here lies one conquer'd that hath conquer'd Kings,
Subdu'd large Territories, and done things
Which to the World impossible would seeme,
But that the truth is held in more esteeme.

Shall I report his former service done
In honour of his God and Christendome:
How that he did divide from Pagans three,
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry:
For which great service in that Climate done,
Brave *Sigismundus* (King of *Hungarion*)
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to weare,
Those conquer'd heads got by his Sword and Speare?
Or shall I tell of his adventures since,
Done in *Virginia*, that large Continence:
How that he subdu'd Kings unto his yoke,
And made those Heathen flie, as wind doth smoke;
And made their Land, being of so large a Station,
A habitation for our Christian Nation:
Where God is glorifi'd, their wants suppli'd,
Which else for necessaries might have di'd?
But what availes his Conquest, now he lyes
Inter'd in earth, a prey for Wormes and Flies?
O may his soule in sweet Elizium sleepe,
Vntill the Keeper that all soules doth keepe,
Returne to Iudgement, and that after thence,
With Angels he may have his recompence.

Captaine *Iohn Smith*, sometime Governour
of *Virginia*, and Admirall of
New England.



INDEX

OF

All *personal* Names (except in the *Titles* and *Contents* pages, and the List of *Adventurers* at *pp.* 549–560), and also of all names of *places* in the New World.

The following abbreviations have been used:—*Pres.*, President; *Gov.*, Governor; *Bp.*, Bishop; *Rev.*, Reverend; *Maj.*, Major; *Capt.*, Captain; *Lieut.*, Lieutenant; *Ens.*, Ensign; *Serg.*, Sergeant; *Corp.* Corporal; (?) signifies that the Christian name is not given.

The spelling of the Indian names in the text is often inconsistent, *c* and *k*, *i* and *y*, *u* and *n* frequently interchanging, and vowels being occasionally dropped out: therefore references have been given to words that *seem* to be the same, regardless of variations of spelling.

The same word, as indexed, may therefore signify chief, tribe, wigwam, district, or river. Possibly, also, two persons of the same name are occasionally indexed as one. Where places are well known, they are given in the modern spelling.

Most of the Old World names in the text, will also be found in the Itineraries at *pp.* xxv-xxviii.

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